

JPRS-SSA-84-083

30 July 1984

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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30 July 1984

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BILATERAL INTER-AFRICAN DEFENSE AGREEMENTS REPORTED

Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English 1 Jun 84 pp 52-53

[Excerpts]

**The air raid against the Omdurman radio transmitters near Khartoum (Sudan) and the immediate military reaction by the Egyptian government significantly underline the importance that African nations attach to bilateral defence agreements. This is true even when they show reticence in engaging in multilateral agreements.**

This situation is due to the fact that bilateral agreements tend to directly reflect certain joint interests. These interests are often related to the close geographic proximity or even interlocking of two countries (i.e. Gambia vis-à-vis Senegal), to long historical ties (Egypt and Sudan, for example) to complementary economic relations, as in Southern Africa, or to ideological convergences, such as those that link Ethiopia and Libya.

A non-exhaustive study of bilateral inter-African pacts shows that there are at present at least some twenty nations who have found it necessary to sign defence, non-aggression or military assistance agreements with one another. Certain of these agreements have resulted in armed interventions, thus proving their utility and emphasizing the perspicacity with which African leaders have been able to perceive early on threats that might imperil their independence.

**West Africa**

The oldest agreement was signed between Gambia and Senegal in 1965. This pact is a defence agreement in the fullest sense of the term. Fifteen years after its signature, it was applied with the successive interventions by the Senegalese Army in Banjul in 1980 and 1981 at the request of Gambian President

Jawara. The geographic location of Gambia, which constitutes a virtual enclave within Senegalese territory, made it impossible for Dakar authorities to remain indifferent to developments there. Following this military intervention, the two countries began a process of federation. The word «Senegambia», which already existed on old maps of Africa, now gained new substance.

In the same zone, but further to the south, Guinean President Sekou Touré, recently deceased, also made it a point to establish defence ties that formed a network of alliances around his country. In June of 1971 he signed a defence pact in Conakry with the President of Sierra Leone, Mr. Siaka Stevens. Shortly afterwards, in April, a Guinean military detachment intervened in Freetown, under the terms of the engagements made. Guinea also signed a defence agreement with Liberia in 1975 at Monrovia, followed by a second pact in 1979 in Conakry.

These agreements at present seem to have been set aside for the moment, as the Guinean government has turned its attention northwards towards Senegal, Guinea Bissau and Gambia. The recent change of power in Conakry should not bring about any changes in this policy.



## East Africa

Troubled by the foreign menaces that weighed against their borders in 1976, the governments of Cairo and Khartoum signed in July a defence agreement. This accord was confirmed in 1982 by the «Charter of Integration» that called for the progressive fusion of the two countries. It was under the terms of this defence pact that the Egyptian Army came to reinforce Sudanese forces last March, following the air raid against Omdurman mentioned above.

It was undoubtedly to counter the effects of this alliance that Libya and Ethiopia signed a «friendship and cooperation treaty» in August of 1981 also including Southern Yemen, including a number of military clauses. A meeting of the foreign affairs ministers from the three countries — Libya, Ethiopia and Southern Yemen — worked out in May of 1982 the measures for the application of the treaty. The military cooperation called for enables the Libyan and Ethiopian governments to coordinate their support for autonomist movements in southern Sudan.

Further to the south, the Tanzanian government of President Nyerere also showed a concern in providing military assistance for its neighbours. It first intervened in Uganda, with the Tanzanian Army putting an end to Marshal Amin Dada's reign, and then in the Seychelles, which have had the support of a Tanzanian military contingent for several years. These troops have stabilized the power of President Albert René on a number of occasions.

Before the revolution, Ethiopia and Kenya also signed a joint defence, security and border administration pact. Regular meetings are held to discuss problems of common interest.

## Central Africa

Central Africa remains one of the least stable zones on the continent. It was here that the «Pan-African peacekeeping forces» made early interventions in Katanga and Chad. Military conflicts continue to threaten the stability of the region. Agreements have nevertheless been concluded between certain countries to limit the risks of conflicts. Zaire has normalized its relations with Angola after the Kolwezi incidents. Relations are now considered to be good, even though there remains little direct cooperation. The Congo has gone even further, according Angola military facilities on the Atlantic coast at the border of the Angolan province of Cabinda. But with the exception of these limited agreements,

wariness remains the rule in the relations between nations, perhaps due to the strategic weight of Nigeria and Zaire in relation to such neighbours as Burundi, Rwanda or even Cameroon or Chad. Equatorial Guinea and Morocco have also signed an agreement at the Presidential Guard level.

## Southern Africa

Southern Africa has long been a zone of conflict due to the fundamental opposition of the «front line» countries (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) to the apartheid regime in South Africa. During the past year the situation has evolved considerably, resulting in the conclusion of non-aggression pacts. The pacts are a prelude to friendly relations between neighbouring nations, even though for the most part basic positions have not been changed.

The first military cooperation agreement in this region was signed in October 1980 between Mozambique and Zimbabwe. It was to assure the security for Mozambique of the vital Beira - Harare transportation links (railway, roads plus pipelines). Two battalions of Zimbabwe forces ensure security of this zone, so indispensable to the country's economy, alongside troops from Mozambique.

In 1982, South Africa signed a secret security agreement with Swaziland that was only recently announced. In June 1983, Lesotho also linked itself to Pretoria through a cooperation agreement aimed at combatting rebel groups susceptible of threatening the security of the two nations.

Finally, the recent «non-aggression pact» signed at NKomati on March 16 between Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa calls for a stop in aid by the two governments to subversive movements operating on the territory of either country.

These agreements show a marked evolution in the relations between the nations of southern Africa. They are further complemented by the negotiations that have begun between the governments of Angola and South Africa aimed at settling the military conflict that opposes the two countries.

In terms of economic developments, this new orientation may enable, for example, the use of the Limpopo river. This possibility has been discussed during talks between Botswana, Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa. Wishing to develop their potential wealth, and faced with the problems that have arisen from extended droughts, these countries in southern Africa

have chosen a realistic approach and are cooperating to ensure the survival and future of their populations. They have thus engaged, through non-aggression pacts, not to endanger the stability that now reigns in the region.

### **Maintaining independence and liberty**

This brief look at the situation in Africa shows the importance that African nations attach to bilateral defence agreements, as well as the role these agreements have played in maintaining the independence and liberty of certain among them. But Africa is far from an isolated world unto itself able to settle all of its problems solely within the context of the continent. It is also the site of strategic stakes on the part of the world's major powers. These powers have also signed military cooperation agreements with numerous African nations. These agreements have in turn resulted in many and varied direct actions. These agreements will be examined in a coming look at the strategies of the superpowers — the USSR and the USA, along with the objectives of a number of other countries that play an important and extensive role in Africa, such as France and Israel.

CSO: 3400/2038



## RURAL, URBAN MEDICAL IMBALANCE DETAILED

Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Feb 84 pp 50-53

[Article by J. Couegnas]

[Text]

**The recent report by the World Health Organization (WHO), «The Price of a Life», clearly sets out the nature of a major impending catastrophe. The study does not deny the gravity of other catastrophes, but it adds a new dimension to a concept that until present has tended to be masked by its absolute nature: «risk».**

A nation can always react in what is called the «insurable» response — accidents only happen to others — and reject that measures should be taken to protect against a catastrophe. But it cannot ignore for long the need for preventative measures and a medical response to problems. Sooner or later the nation's individual criteria will have to be taken into account in order to carry this load. The problem can be analyzed because it is based on known and itemized facts. Solutions can therefore be proposed that correspond to the needs and capacities of each nation. The analysis of the situation at present in Africa with regards to uncertain or endemic risks or an imbalance in medical facilities shows that a large number of African nations either are already or will be forced to face these problems. Unfortunately, certain among them are not in any position to deal with the situation in an effective manner.

### Why?

Up until present, the hospital facilities in these countries have been a faithful reproduction of those found in Europe. While this solution offered a good deal of facility, it refused to come to terms with or ignored the actual context in which the facilities were to be used. In practical terms this means such aspects as: means of access to the hospital (road system, railways, air links), the operational radius of the hospital, the behaviour and traditions of the population, the level of training of medical,

paramedical, technical, management and other personnel...

Unfortunately, numerous examples illustrate these shortcomings, among them «Lambaréné», the successful project where Dr. Schweitzer worked closely with the people of Gabon.

### Innovation in medical logistics

The problem, then, is to build on what already exists and gain acceptance for less attractive looking but more realistic systems that are joined to existing structures. Studies based on the work of Professors Cara, Huguenard, Larreng, Serre, Lasner, Peter, Lamy, Nalda, Manni, Rifat, et. al. and on the results of work done by the French Army Medical Division's EMMIR Rapid Military Intervention Echelon, have led to the creation by French specialists of a multi-level hospital structure with several logistic levels. The structure is able to deal with problems on a number of different levels without having required structural or technical modifications. To do so, the work was based on a reasoning that is diametrically opposed to that behind the installation of massive and unflexible hospitals in the countries covered by the study. These hospitals were sold based on equivalent institutions that had for

the most part already been designed and built in Europe using pre-established plans often programmed by computers (hospitals of the type found at Rocroi Fontenoy).

This of course made it impossible to take into account ethnic personalities or risks, because it is well known that the humanization of hospitals (which is of prime importance) can only be carried out to the detriment of the quality of care given to patients. This in turn leads to a multiplication of specialized sections: recovery, intensive care, etc. Furthermore, the work done by Professors Cara and Huguenard on the adaptability of these new hospitals to a catastrophe, or to the integration of modern emergency facilities (helicopter ambulance ports), along with their lack of resistance to earthquakes, only confirmed their limits. It was shown that 9 times the number of hospitals would be needed if transportation infrastructures did not exist (cf. Cara).

These findings are corroborated by those of the WHO dealing with the amount of people who almost never have access to medical care.

According to the WHO, approximately two-thirds of the inhabitants of developing nations — some 2 billion human beings — do not have regular access to qualified medical personnel, and 12 dollars per inhabitant would never suffice to put doctors and hospitals within reach of these masses. On the other hand, this money could easily be used to deploy a literal army of health workers with basic training and essential medical supplies, working within the communities. It could also be used to provide for water and purification facilities, both fundamental aspects in the prevention of disease. Through close cooperation between the health sector and other developing sectors, with the backing of local authorities, such elements constitute the most important part of «basic health care». This type of care, notes the WHO, offers the only hope for putting good health within the reach of everyone between now and the end of the century. The commitment to health for everyone is firm, but the study found that «this effort is at present seriously hampered by a lack of credits.»

### **A quantitative approach to the medical status of urban and rural areas**

•Table 1. A certain number of criteria can be used to select a number of nations involved: developing nations or those with low or medium-level economies; climate: Saharan, tropical, equatorial and mountainous, plain, Sahel desert, tropical rainforest.

•Table 2: major risks. Natural risks; industrial risks; military risks; health risks; endemic or epidemic diseases; famine.

The nations selected thus all present at least one major risk; the total sample group covers 20 countries: Algeria, Angola, the Congo, the Ivory Coast, Egypt, Ghana, Upper Volta, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Zaire and Zambia.

It is extremely difficult to compare the situation in these countries with that in France. It is therefore useful to take a two-level approach to the problem and to take a country from the sample group that does not present an extreme case, either medically or structurally. The country selected is Tunisia, which can then be used as a basis of comparison for further examination.

The reasoning behind this approach can be seen in looking at the close relationship between the zone covered by a hospital and the available means of transportation (cf. Cara). Take, for example, a 1000-bed French hospital. The zone covered by such a facility is 60 km in radius, for a total of 11,300 km<sup>2</sup>. Why limit the zone to 60 km in a country with more than ample transportation? A study done by the French Health Ministry showed that this was the acceptable limit beyond which contact with the patient's family would be broken off. Hotels even had to be built in certain cases as part of the hospital complexes to provide lodging for families.

Table 3 reveals a wide gap between France and the countries in the sample group. This does not mean, however, that African establishments have only a limited radius. It simply means that another way of looking at the problem must be found. Without real means of transportation, the mean access distance to a hospital for a person in need of treatment must be calculated in terms of walking distance. It is thus realistic to calculate the operational zone based on a radius of 15 km, or a total of 710 km<sup>2</sup>.

Work done by the WHO, UNDR0, UNICEF and the UN has clearly established that the most sophisticated levels of medical treatment reach only part of the African population because of the fact that hospitals are built in urban areas. It is theoretically possible to determine the scope of the imbalance between urban and rural areas. Having established this context, the medical sector should next be examined, both in terms of quantity and quality.

As stated above, the initial comparisons will be between figures for France and Tunisia (cf. medical tables 5 and 6).

Quantitatively, the deficit per 1 000 inhabitants is: Establishments — 80 % Doctors — 75 % Nurses — 79%, Beds — 70%.

Table 1 : climate and geography															Table 2 : type of risks								
	Plains	Marsh	Plateau	Desert	Mountain	Sahel	Savanna	Forest	Temperate	Maritime	Sub-Trop	Tropical	Equatorial	Sahara	Contin	Natural	Industrial	Conflict	Political	Epidemic	Endemic	Famine	Over-population
ALGERIA	X		X	X	X					X				X		X	X						
ANGOLA	X	X	X		X							X	X					X	X		X		
CONGO	X		X					X				X	X				X				X		
IVORY COAST		X	X		X	X		X				X	X							X	X		
EGYPT			X	X	X					X	X			X			X		X				X
GHANA	X		X									X								X	X		
UPPER VOLTA		X	X			X						X		X						X	X	X	
KENYA	X				X			X				X								X	X		
MALI				X	X							X		X						X	X	X	
MOROCCO	X			X	X	X				X				X		X	X		X		X		
MAURITANIA				X										X		X		X					
NIGER	X			X		X	X				X			X						X	X	X	
NIGERIA	X	X	X										X							X	X		
SENEGAL	X	X	X									X	X							X	X	X	
SUDAN			X	X									X		X						X		
TOGO	X			X								X	X		X						X		
TUNISIA	X		X		X							X			X		X		X				
ZAIRE			X		X				X		X			X			X		X		X		
ZAMBIA			X					X					X								X		
SOUTH AFR.																	X	X					X

Qualitatively, the gap is: Doctor/bed ratio — 15%, Nurse/bed ratio — 22%, Nurse/Doctor ratio — 30%. The overall quantitative deficit for 1000 inhabitants is 60%. The qualitative deficit is less substantial, approximately 22%. The sanitary infrastructure, while somewhat lax, is nevertheless of good quality.

The Tunisian transportation network (table 3) is 95% less extensive than that of France. It is thus logical in this case to apply the definition of operational zone determined above, i.e. a radius of 15km, or 720 km<sup>2</sup>. There are 90 hospitals in Tunisia, which represents a zone with access to medical facilities of 90 × 720 KM<sup>2</sup> = 64,800 km<sup>2</sup>. There remains, therefore, an area 100,000 km<sup>2</sup> that is outside of the zone of access to these establishments.

The urban population (table 4) counts approximately 3,000,000 inhabitants, while the rural population counts 3,500,000 inhabitants. In terms of surface area, urban zones account for 5% of the country's total surface, or 8,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The total rural area equals 156,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The rural surface with access to medical facilities is 56,800 m<sup>2</sup> and rural population density is 22 persons/km<sup>2</sup>. This enables a calculation of the total population with access to medical facilities: considered as having this access are urban zone inhabitants, or 3,000,000 inhabitants (table 4), and the fringes of the rural population within the operational zone of a hospital (56,800 km<sup>2</sup> × 22), for a total of only 1,249,600 people. The total is thus 4,249,600

people, or 65% of the Tunisian population. The medical deficit for rural zones for Tunisia is therefore 35%.

Using this same method of calculation, the rural deficits for the other countries studied were established using the Tunisian figures as a base:

Algeria — 0.51, Angola — 0.75, Congo — 0.46, Ivory Coast — 0.50, Egypt — 0.29, Ghana — 0.46, Upper Volta — 0.64, Kenya — 0.69, Mali — 0.51, Morocco — 0.45, Mauritania — 0.77, Niger — 0.88, Nigeria — 0.53, Senegal — 0.59, Sudan — 0.74, Togo — 0.62, Zaire — 0.62, Zambia — 0.52.

### How can these deficits be overcome?

If new facilities are to be created as a solution, the problem of transportation must be kept in mind. It was shown in the study mentioned above that when there is insufficient transportation the number of medical facilities must be multiplied to obtain equivalent coverage. In a case such as Tunisia, the theoretical number of hospitals that would need to be built would represent 33% of those already in existence, or 30 additional units. This number would have to be multiplied by a minimum of 5, or 150 hospitals representing approximately 2000 beds. With the cost per bed varying between 200,000 and 400,000 French francs, the total expense would be in the order of 6 billion French francs.

Table 3 : transportation ratio/1 000 km <sup>2</sup>							Table 4 : Population						
COUNTRY	Roads main	Roads second	Rail	Water	Airports	Public Transp ratio en %	Total populat en mil	Urban %	Rural %	Area mil km <sup>2</sup>	Total density 1 000 km <sup>2</sup>	Rural density 1 000 km <sup>2</sup>	Life expectancy (years)
FRANCE	1 949.20		0.32	12.36	0.86	38.11	53.106	70	30	555	96.200	32.070	76
ALGERIA	15.86	4.65	1.6	0	0.01	4.42	19	44	56	2.382	7.677	4.466	56
ANGOLA	6.89	13.79	3.25	0	0.02	4.79	8.1	21	79	1.247	6.495	5.131	42
CONGO	1.45	11.36	3.91	4.38	0.08	4.23	1.7	50	50	342	2.924	2.485	60
IVORY COAST	10.24	12.81	4.13	0	0.05	6.80	8.5	37	63	322	26.397	16.630	47
EGYPT	12.80	6.45	4.38	1.8	0.01	5.08	43.3	55.5	44.5	1.001	49.300	19.350	57
GHANA	22.46	42.85	5.33	0	0.03	14.13	11.8	23	67	239	49.372	33.079	54
UPPER-VOLTA	3.05	30.77	2.18	0	0.08	7.21	6.3	32	68	274	22.992	15.635	44
KENYA	10.90	40.43	4.53	0	0.008	11.17	17.4	12.6	87.4	583	29.845	26.249	56
MALI	3.14	7.34	0.5	1.45	0.008	2.48	6.9	28.2	71.8	1.240	5.161	3.995	45
MOROCCO	37.72	43.89	2.06	0	0.09	16.75	20.9	40	60	447	46.756	28.053	57
MAURITANIA	0.53	6.37	0.67	0	0.01	1.45	1.6	23	77	1.031	1.551	1.194	44
NIGER	1.40	1.42	0	0.23	0.003	0.61	5.7	10	90	1.267	4.499	4.048	45
NIGERIA	29.27	40.04	3.58	3.03	0.02	15.17	87.6	16	84	924	94.805	79.636	49
SENEGAL	17.72	26.5	5.42	7.14	0.09	11.37	5.9	29.6	70.4	196	30.102	21.071	44
SUDAN	0.48	9.49	2.22	0.47	0.001	2.52	19.2	22.6	77.4	2.506	7.661	5.930	47
TOGO	16.42	52.19	8.72	0	0.1	15.98	2.7	15	85	57	47.368	40.263	48
TUNISIA	60.36	15.54	12.80	0	0.02	17.75	6.5	47.5	52.5	164	39.634	20.807	61
ZAIRE	8.52	18.12	2.24	4.55	0.07	6.3	29.8	25	75	2.345	12.707	3.176	50
ZAMBIA	13.8	16.1	4.05	1.59	0.003	7.11	5.8	40	60	753	7.702	4.621	51
SOUTH AFR	151.62	0	18.76	2.13	0.01	36.50							

The logistic systems developed by medical specialists who have studied natural disasters and conflicts would make it possible to overcome this medical deficit at a lower cost for a number of reasons:

- the materials and functions involved are modular and adaptable in both assignment and number;
- they can be placed under the direction of either the armed forces, interior or health ministries since they can at any time be regrouped or divided to meet diverse needs (natural disasters, armed conflicts, lack of medical facilities in an area).

Whether for dealing with the medical needs resulting from armed conflicts, natural disasters or medical insufficiencies, the equipment used must be effective, autonomous and mobile. The mobile hospital also overcomes the problem of insufficient transportation, since it enables regular independent visits to different areas. **The hospital goes to the patient** and not the other way around. This thus draws nearer the formula «something for everyone and not just for a few».

The cost price of these logistic systems cannot be calculated in cost per bed since they evolve in function of needs. Their capacity can be multiplied by grouping units together, or divided to provide better distribution of reinforced by rotating periods of presence in an area. Availability is

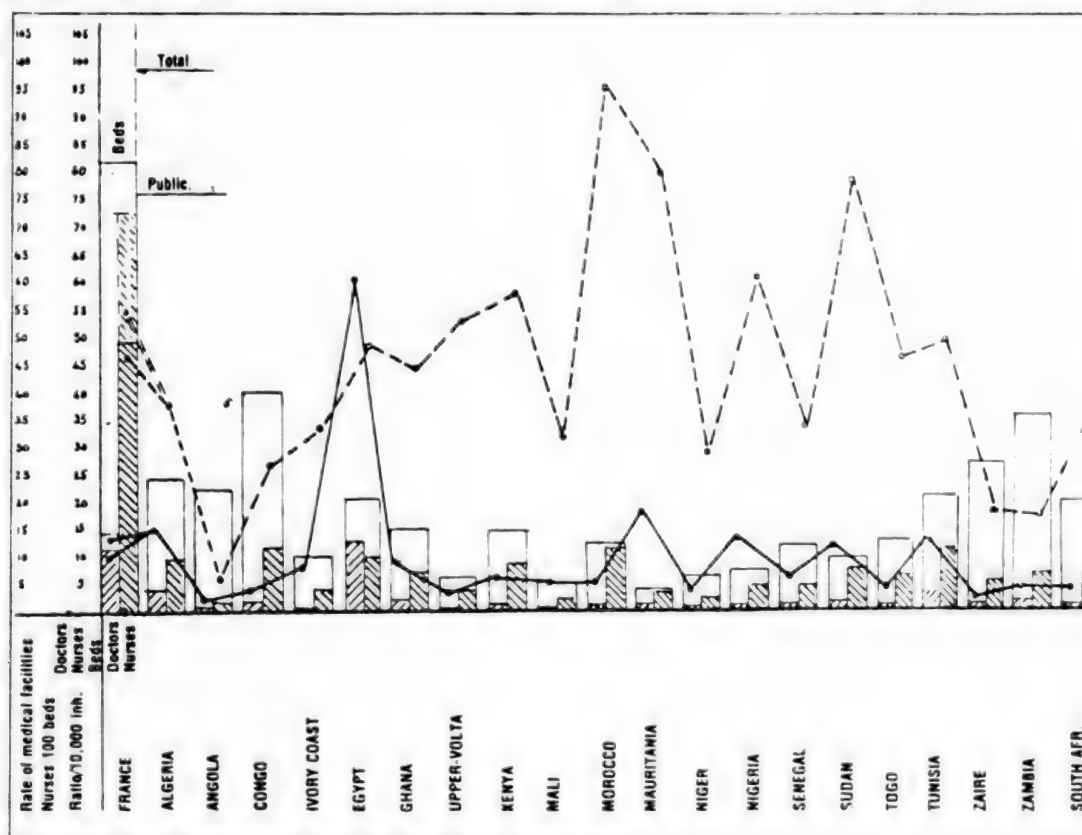
immediate, whatever the medical problem at hand, since they have been created with flexibility in mind. Furthermore, in going directly to the population, the units add prophylactic actions to their therapeutic capabilities, especially through the establishment of preventative programs. The development of these new systems required the study and adaptation of solutions to a number of important new physical problems. Solutions have been found for the problems of the supply of medical gases, storage of water and fuel, sterilization, cooking, food stores, etc. The problem of waste disposal has been examined, as has that of the transmission of disease, both essential during outbreaks of crises.

Lastly, the systems have been designed to deal with armed conflicts, which are critical situations for all such logistic systems. In order to provide protection for medical personnel working both in tents or in shelters, protection that neither the Red Cross nor Red Crescent can totally assure, it is possible to integrate composite armoured protection systems. This enables a reduction of approximately 50% of the weight of standar armour for equivalent protection. This armoured protection can be used in a number of different forms, including modular panels that are set up as needed around tents, or integrated into the structure of the shelters used.

J. Couegnas

Table 5 : Rate and ratio of medical facilities and personnel

COUNTRY (per 10,000 inhabitants)	Hospital beds	Doctors	Nurses	Rate of medical facilities		Ratio hospitals			Ratio Total value Doctors/nurses
				Doctors	Nurses	Beds	Doctors	Nurses	
FRANCE	146.96	19.97	61.7	13.8	62	499.93	67.95	290.19	5.43
ALGERIA	24.03	3.51	9.18	14.6	38.02	128	18.74	49	2.57
ANGOLA	22.2	0.47	1.46	4.5	6.6	52	1.04	3.42	3.09
CONGO	40.44	1.61	11.26	4.0	8.9	14.53	0.57	4.04	17.25
IVORY COAST	9.81	0.37	3.36	3.77	3.4	12.95	0.45	4.43	6.98
EGYPT	20.06	12.31	9.31	6.13	48	57.13	35.07	27.95	0.79
GHANA	14.42	1.41	6.57	9.7	45	51.75	5.06	53.97	10.72
UPPER VOLTA	5.75	0.20	3.05	3.4	53	82.43	2.88	43.79	15.17
KENYA	14.2	0.84	8.21	5.9	36.6	71.14	4.23	41.31	9.75
MALI	5.83	0.29	1.87	4.9	32.0	20.96	1.06	6.73	6.34
MOROCCO	11.69	0.55	10.59	4.7	90.5	170.22	8.06	154.80	19.20
MAURITANIA	3.40	0.62	2.73	18.2	80.0	45.4	8.25	36.5	4.42
NIGER	5.55	0.20	1.65	3.6	29.7	14.92	0.53	4.43	8.25
NIGERIA	7.03	0.91	4.26	12.9	60.5	6.64	0.86	14.03	4.64
SENEGAL	11.57	0.76	4.00	6.5	34.5	155.15	10.70	59.63	5.25
SUDAN	9.02	1.12	7.13	11.8	78.1	108.3	13.55	85.58	6.3
TOGO	12.39	0.51	5.85			51.47	2.13	24.23	11.3
TUNISIA	20.8	2.76	10.56	4.1	49.8	138.47	18.36	70.06	3.81
ZAIRE	26.59	0.63	4.91	2.3	18.4	84.12	2.01	15.56	7.71
ZAMBIA	35.58	1.41	6.07	3.9	17.06	32.44	1.29	5.53	4.28
SOUTH AFRICA	19.06	0.73	6.88	3.8	36.09	71.37	2.74	25.76	9.37



## BRIEFS

CHINESE YOUTH GROUP VISIT--A delegation from the Chinese Communist Youth League, made up of three members and headed by Comrade Lin Yuandong, vice president of the National Federation of Chinese Communist Youth, arrived in Cotonou on 14 May as part of a program of exchanges between the Organization of Revolutionary Youth of Benin and the Communist Youth of China. The delegation was greeted in Hilla-Condji by comrades Christophe Kint Aguiar, Jacques Zossou and Michel Ouassa, members of the national executive bureau of the Benin Organization of Revolutionary Youth and the ambassador from the People's Republic of China, Comrade Sun Shiceng. During its stay, the delegation from the Chinese Communist Youth League will visit the Benin Textile Company (SOBETEX), the National Beverage Company known as La Beninoise, the Cigarette and Match Manufacturing Company, the lake village of Ganvie, the historical site of Goho and the Abomey Museum. The delegation will also give reports on the participation of communist youth in the building of new China, the program and structures of the Chinese Communist Youth League and the activities of rank-and-file structures of the Chinese communist youth. Before leaving our country on 21 May, Chinese youth leaders will join with their Benin colleagues in a discussion of bilateral cooperation and joint activities of the two youth organizations. [Text] [Cotonou BENIN-PRESSE-INFORMATION in French No 339, 18 May 84 p 8] 11,464

CSO: 3419/784



## FIVE PROJECTS TO AID REFUGEES SUBMITTED AT ICARA II

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 9 Jul 84 p 3

[Text]

GABORONE, JULY 4: Botswana is expected to submit five projects worth over P5 million to the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II) which begins in Geneva, Switzerland, today July 9 to 11, it was disclosed here today.

A Botswana delegation to the conference left here this afternoon led by the Attorney General, Mr. Molaleki Mokama.

Other members of the delegation are the Under Secretary in the Office of the President, Mr. Isaac Gontse, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr. Norman Moleboge and the Senior Social Counsellor for Refugees, Miss Mpho Makhena.

In an interview with BOPA, Miss Makhena said that at least 14 African countries, including Botswana would make project submissions amounting to over 300 million US dollars.

Botswana's projects which are related with the assistance of refugees have been mentioned as follows:

- project one - establishment of poultry-marketing infrastructure and training in poultry raising and marketing in the Francistown area.

Botswana is to seek about P405 405.00 external financing for this project over a period of one year.

According to the project memorandum, the take off of this project is expected to relieve farmers and refugees around Francistown whose chicken and egg production this year is estimated at 75 000.

Refugees at the Dukwe settlement currently produce 18 000 chickens per annum, plus the eggs from 1 000 layers. In 1984 their production is expected to be 25 000 chickens.

The project is expected to increase the cash revenue of both refugees and local farmers, and would help to meet the needs of the population.

The establishment of an organisation to process and market poultry within the area of the refugee settlement would greatly accelerate self-sufficiency in protein.

- project two - re-afforestation at and around Dukwe refugee settlement. The estimated cost of the project is put at about P368 550.00 over a period of three years.

Some 600 hectares around Dukwe refugee settlement would be re-afforested thereby helping to remedy the effects of several years of deforestation near the settlement and around former refugee camps.

It is expected that this project would provide employment for a segment of the local inhabitants and refugees as direct labour in the nursery and in planting 600 000 trees over three years.

The memorandum further explains that the presence in Botswana of several thousand refugees just a few years ago led to the deforestation of several thousand hectares of land. The refugees now at the Dukwe settlement, some 3 700 have accelerated the process of deforestation through their search for wood and fuel and roofing.

●project three - assistance to establish health-screening services at Dukwe. The government needs at least P135 135.00 over a period of one year for this project in order to ease the Jubilee

Hospital in Francistown of the burden of screening newly arrived refugees and treatment of serious medical problems.

The screening services would be open to both refugees and nationals and would be especially intended to combat communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis, venereal diseases and severe malnutrition.

"All newly arrived refugees are referred to the outmoded and overcrowded facilities at Jubilee Hospital at Francistown for screening and curative treatment before they go to the Dukwe refugee settlement.

These refugees often suffer from tuberculosis, venereal diseases, severe malnutrition, wounds and other serious medical problems," said the project memorandum.

CSO: 3400/2039



AUSTRALIAN CONTRIBUTION WELCOMED

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 2 Jul 84 p 1

[Text]

**GABORONE, July 2:** The President, Dr Quett Masire has said Botswana highly appreciate the contribution that Australia has made to Botswana through the provision of technical assistance, equipment and training facilities.

"We appreciate this contribution because it lends support to our development endeavours," said Dr Masire when accepting letters of credence from the Australian High Commissioner to Botswana, Mr Christopher A. Edwards on Friday last week at the State House.

Dr Masire further said Botswana equally values the bonds of friendship and cooperation that tie Australia and Botswana together as sovereign states and as members of the Commonwealth.

President Masire also noted that the role played by Australia in the search for a solution to the problems of Southern Africa has always been constructive, especially in calling for freedom and equality in Namibia and South Africa.

He said it was our fervent hope that the burning issues of southern Africa would ultimately be resolved through negotiations rather than violence.

Earlier the Australian High Commissioner said Australians are pleased to have made a constructive contribution to the economic and social development of Botswana. His government, he added, would continue to support development programmes in Botswana.

On Southern Africa, Mr Edwards said his country has close interest in developments in the region and welcomes the increasing economic cooperation between SADCC countries and will continue to support these cooperative efforts.

Mr Edwards further said they also share with Botswana the hope that the major outstanding issues in Southern Africa would shortly be resolved peacefully so that all governments in the region can devote their efforts to improving the quality of life of their people. BOPA

CSC: 3400/2039

# KWENA CONCRETE PRODUCTS BOOST INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Gaborone THE GUARDIAN in English 6 Jul 84 p 11

[Text]

**KWENA Concrete Products is one of the new industries in Botswana which the Government welcomes with an immense sense of pride, said the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr M.P.K. Nwako when he officially opened the establishment last week.**

He said as far as he was aware the project was a brainchild of two people: Mr Willie Seboni, his former Cabinet colleague and Mr N.C. Shultz, who had spent a number of years in Botswana as an engineer in the Roads Department under the Ministry of Works and Communications.

They were the entrepreneurs whose foresight made it possible to assemble the necessary plant, equipment, management and labour, and organised them into a going concern.

The Minister said Botswana's exceptional

economic growth since independence had been largely the result of favourable developments in the mineral sector and sound economic management as well as the Government's ability to maintain access to the European Economic Community and the country's beef exports.

This made it possible for the Government to make enormous progress in providing essential social and economic infrastructure which was virtually non-existent only a few years ago. While a lot more needed to be done, he said, greater attention was now focussed on creating the necessary climate to expand and diversify the productive sector of the economy to ensure long term sustained development.

Industry, therefore, will play a key role in this regard and the Government's approach to in-

dustrial development in general is to maintain a free enterprise, market-oriented system which is committed to creating employment and increasing the participation of Botswana at all levels of industry.

Kwena Concrete Products, which was commissioned in January this year, has invested P900 000 in the project. It produces a wide range of high quality concrete products, including pre-cast concrete pipes, rings, manhole sections, foundations blocks, interlocking paving slabs and many other products. Most of these products have so far been imported by the construction industry from suppliers outside Botswana.

With the production of these products now taking place in Botswana, transportation costs will be considerably reduced and save the country foreign exchange.

BRICK PLANT NEGOTIATED

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 9 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Marx Garekwe]

[Text]

Gaborone, July 5:

Negotiations are in progress between the government and the company of French Investors to establish a brick making plant in the country.

Botswana is represented by the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Minister of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs in these talks.

According to a spokesman of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Mr John Collins, a Senior Trade Promotion Advisor, the project is aimed at producing "face bricks" and at making this venture as labour intensive as possible, he said.

The bricks would be of high quality and would also be used for decorations, he said.

The brick plant would be set up at Woodhall in Lobatse because that is where clay soil that is used as a raw material is found, explained Mr Collins.

The face bricks project would not pose any competition against

the indigenous brick producers, he said.

Commenting on the market of the bricks, Mr Collins said that already a market survey has been conducted and it had revealed that there was high demand for such bricks.

They will be sold to government projects and individual workshops but they will not be sold to the outside market, he explained.

In a related development the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr M.P.K. Nwako, and officials of his Ministry have met representatives of a British company on the possible development of bricks in the Central District with the aim of exporting them, said Mr Collins.

This British company has already set up export oriented subsidiaries in Swaziland and they are operating on a hundred per cent export to South Africa explained Mr Collins.

**BOPA**

CSO: 3400/2039

## BRIEFS

FIRST CROCODILE FARM--Gaborone, July 9--The Okavango Swamps Crocodile Farm was described as a shining example of what can be achieved by legally utilising wildlife resources by the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr M.P.K. Nwako. Minister Nwako was performing the official opening of this country's first ever crocodile farm in Maun on Friday. Mr Nwako expressed hope that this crocodile farming operation would trigger off similar investments in wildlife utilisation projects. The Minister pointed out that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry was currently working on a Draft Wildlife Utilisation Policy which would address the whole field of wildlife protection, conservation and utilisation. "Our aim is to promote wildlife benefits by showing that wildlife is not only a good source of much needed protein for our people, but it also can be a source of job opportunities through wildlife resource based industries," he emphasised. Mr Nwako noted that the Ministry was working along guidelines which would facilitate the exploitation of wildlife resources for the benefit of all Batswana, and particularly for the rural population where these resources abound. He thus urged Batswana to take an active part both as employees and as owners of the wildlife utilisation schemes. Commenting on the Crocodile Farm, Minister Nwako noted that it employs a total of 53 people, and that the establishment of a fish farm to provide food for the crocodiles soon, would generate more jobs. The Minister said that the aim of the Crocodile Farm was to rear and breed crocodiles for the production of leather for the manufacture of fancy goods such as shoes and bags; for their meat which is said to be quite tasty; and as a tourist attraction. He noted that because crocodiles have always been considered as pests as a result of their destructive nature, and because of the value of their skin, their numbers have been greatly reduced worldwide. The Minister said that the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora classified crocodiles as an endangered species. Condemning poaching, the Minister argued that it was not only through killing that one could gain from the wild animal. [Excerpts] [Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 9 Jul 84 p 2]

CSO: 3400/2039

DJIBOUTI

BRIEFS

FRENCH PRESENCE--The French Secretary of State for Defence, Jean Gatel, said there would be no change in the French military presence in Djibouti; the 4,000 air, land and naval personnel contributed to the stability of the region and safeguarded Djibouti sovereignty. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jun 84 p 28]

CSO: 3400/2038

## BRIEFS

SNM ATTACKED--On 28th April the militia forces still loyal to dictator General Siyad Barre launched an attack on one of the bases of the Col Abdullahi Aji Said unit of the Somali Nationalist Movement, SNM, wing of the Somali opposition forces. Reports add that the attack launched by the militia pressed into the battle by Siyad was checked and crushed by the SNM fighters. The militia suffered heavy casualties in men and materiel. The SNM fighters killed three soldiers and wounded many others of the militia which also had two vehicles of the APC type destroyed and a very large quantity of arms and ammunition captured. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jun 84 p 28]

DFSS ATTACK--Units of the Ninth General Manshe division of the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia, DFSS, wing of the Somali opposition forces, launched a hit-and-run attack on the enemy forces of the Barre regime based at Dabad village, inflicting heavy casualties in lives and damage to property. The fighters killed five soldiers and wounded five others. The wounded enemy soldiers included the commander of the brigade stationed at Dabad, the DC (District Commissioner) of Dabad town, and the organiser of the shiftas (bandits) of the regime stationed there. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jun 84 p 28]

'BRITISH MERCENARY' CLAIM--The Somali dissident radio, "Radio Halgan," cited reports from Mogadishu that the Somali Government was hiring British mercenary pilots; they were being trained by Chinese instructors to fly Somalia's MiG-19 aircraft in Mogadishu and a place 95 km to the west of the capital. The radio said the Somali opposition forces vehemently condemned "the unholy alliance" between the Siyad regime and China, and called on the latter to understand the objectives of the Somali people led by the opposition forces whose armed struggle would continue until final victory. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jun 84 p 28]

CSO: 3400/2038

EXILE'S RETURN TO CONAKRY

Dakar AFRICA in French Jun 84 pp 37-39

[Article by Moriba Magassouba]

[Text] Sometimes history is one man's adventure.  
One such man is Bemba, coming home to Guinea after  
20 years -- an eternity -- of exile.

The Air Afrique DC-10 that flies the weekly shuttle from Dakar and Conakry has just landed at Gbessia-Conakry International. The aircraft is still rolling when the pilot brakes sharply, touching off a small panic among the passengers, some of whom, heedless of the flight attendant's nasal orders over the public address system urging them to remain seated, suddenly find themselves flat on their backs in the aisle. Not a very advantageous position for the many among them who, their necks tightly swathed in huge poplin cravats, were literally stifling in a respectability they had not so much as loosened since they donned it at Dakar-Yoff International.

As for Bembe, he had not moved. His mind, like his eyes, was wandering, unable to fix on anything. It was 20 years since he, like many another, had left here 20 years ago, voting with their feet against a system that had made his country, only newly free of the colonial yoke, a vast collective prison and a boundless graveyard of broken dreams. He was not anxious to remember, to subject his poor memory to the torment of recalling a nightmarish past. Anxiety twisted his entrails. But it was indeed time to leave the plane. That, after all, was why he was here. It was almost a quarter-century that he had been waiting for this very moment. He was suddenly discovering that the immediate prospect of exceeding joy has the power to paralyze. It had done something very strange to his legs...

Bear-Hugs

He emerged from the plane staggering a little, drunk on an indefinable sensation. Despite the weather, which threatened a storm, the sky had never looked such a crystalline blue before. Standing



on the ramp, his eyes half-closed, he breathed deeply and slowly, as if to savor the air -- and never mind the stink of kerosene. Below him, at the foot of the ramp, many of the passengers knelt unself-consciously to kiss the soil of home. Pope John Paul II has clearly found some followers in the -- once People's Revolutionary -- Republic of Guinea! Mechanically, he does likewise, paying no attention whatever to the puddles of grease and oil that surround him. Suddenly stung by some invisible bee, the passengers had started off on a run toward the airport terminal, or the hangar that serves as one. Some of them had made heavy use of their elbows in the skirmishing to be first off the plane. The level of combativeness rose several more degrees when they all vied to get through the single door to the big, bare, comfortless box of a room fraudulently and pompously referred to as a "salon," where already several dozen people were waiting -- relatives, friends, or allies who had, doubtless by application of the miraculous lotion of lucre -- unaccountably generated remarkable inattention among the guards stationed there to control a particularly overexcited crowd.

People hugged each other, laughed, wept, and hugged again just to make absolutely sure this was true. Ten, 15, 20 years is a long time. It's like scaling a wall, it's hard! Sixty seconds for a hug is so short. But it's deep, it's good! It's like the dizziness when you clamber back down. You come down a whole lot faster than you climbed up. It's a question of weight! As for Bemba, he had trouble getting himself together after gripping and holding to him his older brother Moussa, ("Balla,") and coming within an inch of smothering him. At 45, a man who has been through what Bemba had endured thinks he has no more tears to shed. To his intense amazement, he found that his tear-glands were working again, and with all the force of a geyser. He wept unashamedly, making no slightest effort to stem the flow, in silence.

In the "salon," the air had got close. The cramped quarters packed with people and the absence of ventilation had even caused several fainting-spells. The air, heavy with strong body odors generated by overabundant sweating, had the acrid scent of ammonia. No matter, this enforced community bath was truly a ritual plunge into the fountain of youth for spirits freed at last of the haunting fear that they would never again see their homeland again, and for those who only half-hoped to lay eyes on their exiled loved ones.

"Yes, I'm fine, thanks be to God. And So-and-so? How is he?"

Always the same affirmation-confirmation of the returning one's good health followed by the inevitable question about that of the others, repeated over and over again in the many-voiced dialogue between the homecoming revenant from exile and his own people, a dialogue punctuated by wordless sounds expressing in turn sorrow, joy, indignation, or disbelief. All the happenings, great or small,



joyous or sad, all the suffering, all the dramas, the tragedies emerge slowly from the reducing prism of the memory. They are proffered without ceremony, bare of context, to the returning wanderer. The dead are named, with a sigh; the babies, the children boasted of. On all sides, there is a profession of faith in a better future.

### Decaying Hulks

His father's house had not changed much, The tamarind tree that now-dead father had planted was still standing -- a scar here and there. Wind and weather had not got the better of the rickety bungalow, which still valiantly held its ground against the insidious onslaught of rust, a redoubtable enemy in this neighborhood (Camayenne) set right on the sea-rim. Camayenne had not changed all that much, either. Peer as he might, Bemba could spot not a single new building in this world of corrugated iron where he was born; he saw only wretched hovels swarming with knots of half-naked babies splashing in a puddle -- the slums of his own childhood. Worse: the neighborhood was even dirtier, even more overcrowded.

That evening, back in his hotel room (he could not make up his mind to move into the neighborhood), Bemba, left at last to his own devices, realized the true dimensions of the catastrophic state into which his country had fallen. Everything needed doing. The restoration toward which Guinea's new masters were steering the country was going to be no easy task. The country needed everything: money, food, medicine. Never had he imagined such a state of delapidation. It boggled the mind.

His walks through the city rounded out his assessment of the scale of the catastrophe: potholed streets, houses falling down, dark or ill-lit neighborhoods, the decaying hulks of rusting automobiles, garbage dumps festering unattended -- all combined in a setting that would not have been out of place in a horror film like "Night of the Living Dead," minus, of course, the zombies.

In some odd way, Bemba felt alien to everything around him. He could no longer find his bearings in a world that seemed to have dropped out of time. Had exile killed the childish heart in him, the heart that once leapt with delight at the simplest of pleasures? He dared not answer that question, which would have stirred long-dormant anxieties in him. His traveling companions, some of whom were staying at his hotel, clearly were not undergoing the soul-trauma he was experiencing; they gave lavish parties, strolled by the hour through the lobby, sometimes attracting rude remarks from the "locals," from whom they set themselves apart with their careful grooming and their three-piece suits, worn with a considerable degree of ostentation. The foreign currencies they had brought home with them and exchanged, on the black market, at a rate ten times the official one, was helping to build new reputations and to fuel a lot of envy.

All this showing-off, all this agitation were beyond Bemba. Of course there were a lot of people among the returning exiles who had made their fortunes honestly, by the strength of their arms or by their extraordinary business sense, but he suspected some of them of having engaged in some of the dirtiest kinds of trade and of transplanting their criminal activities to Guinea. Those who had opposed the old regime, some of whom behaved like battle-scarred veterans returning from a glorious victory, seizing on any opportunity to make a show. You saw them everywhere, always excited, given to theatrical gestures, trying to rekindle the old flames among the crowds who had long forgotten them. The sanctimonious smugness of those who, until very recently, were still branded (by the official terminology of the day, of course) as "anti-Guineans," bothered Bemba most of all. He told himself that he probably shared this opinion with the "locals," on whose faces he had, upon occasion, detected the shadow of a mocking smile.

This, though, was no time for resentment, and besides, he could not think of any grounds on which he could sit in judgment on men and women who had tried -- albeit by joining forces, at the time, with the Portuguese devil -- to overthrow a regime he abhorred.

Welcomed like many of his companions in exile by the country's new rulers who showered him with assurances of their firm intentions to bring all Guineans actively into the work of restoring the nation, he felt very clearly, at first, that things had indeed changed. The too-sudden contact with a state of affairs of which he had hardly dreamt shook him to the point where he began wondering if he were indeed at home again. Gradually, as the days passed, he began little by little to discover that the country and its people were pretty much as they had been when he had left them, on the morning of 17 December 1961 when he crossed the Senegalese border after trekking for days on foot through the bush. The "revolution" had had no effect whatsoever on the Guineans' conviviality, which had always, even under the most trying circumstances, proved unquenchable. A wonderful people, who had managed to keep smiling through the most tragic moments of their brief history. Never had the girls of his homeland seemed quite so beautiful to Bemba. Maybe they were not quite so elegant as the Senegalese ladies, but they had no need to pile on the makeup. Their utterly natural milk-dewey beauty owed nothing to Avon or any of the rest of the make-up to which the beauties of Dakar are addicted. One evening, he ventured into a nightclub where the renowned Bembeya Jazz Nationale was featured. A glimpse of a covey of young girls engaged in the oldest of professions came as something of a shock to him. He had been assured that this sort of thing did not exist in the "People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea." He was certainly no preachy moralist, but, in his struggle for survival, he had acquired and kept a certain intolerance and moral rigor which sometimes impelled him to make hasty final judgments -- much like those handed down by the special tribunals, of evil memory, who had plunged the whole country into mourning. He did not find this particular comparison very amusing, but it did move him to an attempt to understand. "Well," he thought, "the times they are a-changin'," and he raised

his glass in a toast to all the pretty ladies on the planet, and to "all the men who ...died of thirst in the desert," the latter toast offered by a type visibly the worse for wine who chanced to see him raise his glass.

## Roots

Just picking up -- in only 48 hours! -- that pretty green passport, even though -- you can't do everything overnight, after all -- it still bore the stamp of the "People's Revolutionary Republic," warmed his heart. Just having it in his pocket was like putting on a cloak that would at long last cover the nakedness too long exposed to the bitter winds of xenophobia in a country that did not -- could not belong to the man without a country.

Aboard the plane carrying him to Dakar, Bemba, once more left to his own reflections, was re-living the last moments he had spent in his own country. That last meal eaten with the family, in the old neighborhood, the preparations for departure, the constant procession of neighbors come to say goodbye, the ill-concealed emotion of his brother -- the only one still left to him, who complained that he had seen so little of him during his short visit. The sight of his nephews and nieces done up in the clothes he had brought them from Dakar brought him intense joy: a thoughtful show of affection and appreciation that went straight to his heart. If he had heeded his brother, his two wives, his cousins male and female, he would have packed the plane with fresh fruit and dress-lengths! Everybody, he remembered, had insisted on giving him a gift for his wife and children, photographs of whom he had distributed generously to all comers. It saddened him to have to refuse to take it all with him, but there was nothing for it.

His mind was made up. He would come home to his own country and go back to teaching. With the reform that was about to take effect, they would surely need his services. Yes, it had been a wrench to leave Senegal, the adopted country where he had sent down roots, but the yearning for his own land was growing in him, irresistibly, irresistibly, as the plane sped away from the green valley which, very quickly, was nothing more than a tiny green dot lost in the ocean vastness. There was no way around it: he had to go home.

6182

CS0: 3419/805

REGIONAL TENSIONS REPORTED MOUNTING

Verona NIGRIZIA in Italian Apr 84 pp 17-18

[Article by Ibrahim Diallo: 'The Oil War']

[Text] Is Senegal nurturing dreams of expansion? Whatever the answer to that question, there is something afoot in the region.

A plan for closing ranks in the region, extending into the territories of Gambia and Guinea-Bissau, is slowly taking form in response to initiatives by Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, and shored up by very clear economic considerations (Senegal's currency, the CFA franc, supported by the French franc, guarantees his country commercial stability of which speculators from neighboring countries take advantage via the black market) as well as by some attempts at political destabilization which are not quite so clear, but not too mysterious, either.

Complicated Situation

The centrifugal thrusts in the territory of the Senegambia Confederation were first felt in December, with the bloody rebellion of the Diola population of Casamance. The Dakar government ran for shelter, calling for open support from Maj Joao Vieira, president of Guinea-Bissau, and asking him not to provide sanctuary for possible Leftist guerrillas. Even the Gambian opposition parties, however, are unhappy with the integration Senegal is trying to push through.

In Dakar, they dream of making Gambia a Senegalese province for all intents and purposes, and are merely waiting for a chance to move, which might come in the form of another attempt at a coup d'etat against President Jawara. Meanwhile, in order to avoid any dangerous countershocks from the "Diola Rebellion," the two most restless regions in Senegal have been broken up: Sine-Saloum has been halved and split between the cities of Kaolack and Fatick, while Casamance has been divided up between Ziguinchor and Kolda.



On top of this already complicated situation of centrifugal pushes and federationist shoves, at the very moment when President Abou Diouf is striving to consolidate his own government's authority over the formidable machine run by Senghor's power barons, along comes a little "oil war." The boundary agreements reached during the colonial era made Guinea-Bissau heir to two coastal zones now disputed by Conakry on one side and by Dakar on the other. And, as a crowning irony, both zones are alluring, not only for their deep-sea fisheries, but also because of the prospect of oil. A good 3 years ago the disputes between Bissau and Conakry flared into the open, and on that occasion President Sekou Toure threatened openly to annex the former Portuguese colony, in the name of their common patronymic, and to make it part of a "Greater Guinea."

#### Thrust and Counter-thrust

On the Senegalese side, precisely when President Diouf was asking Vieira not to support the Casamance rebels, a Petro Canada drill-rig went in to test the contested waters, on Senegal's behalf, thereby violating the agreement reached after an appeal to the International Tribunal at The Hague. Bissau's response was formal notes and direct action. It would seem that several people were killed and that two of Bissau's aircraft -- of the handful that make up its air fleet -- crashed into the sea. When it was all over, the floating derrick was withdrawn and it is now anchored in the port of Dakar.

By way of reprisal, the 600-ton trawler, Estrela do Mar, was captured by the Senegalese navy in the contested zone and forced to put in at the port of Dakar. The ship's crew, composed primarily of Soviet technicians, is now held as a prize. Bissau's Foreign Minister Fidelis Cabral D'Almada, personally undertook a mission to Abdou Diouf to negotiate for the liberation of the ship and her crew.

At this juncture, Guinea-Bissau must put a good face on its powerful neighbor's demands. Its request, already made, to join the franc zone, requires it to agree to economic and technical penetration by the French advisers whose orders are to take up positions in government ministries and coordinate regional development plans. In this tiny country of 800,000 people, corruption holds full sway. All the international aid sent here since independence has vanished like snow in the sun: whole trucks loaded with food or with technical equipment to help in economic development roll out of Guinea-Bissau to be sold on the black market in Senegal, or its opposite number at Ziguinchor.

#### The Shattered Dream

The dream of economic independence and socialism so lovingly cultivated by Amilcar Cabral, the man who sparked the war of independence against Portuguese colonialism, has vanished over the span of 10 years into the state of impotence and disorganization that lays the country open today to the risk of summary annexation by Senegal -- and that within a fairly short time (NIGRIZIA, March 1983).

If Abdou Diouf succeeds in his plan to swallow all of Senegambia, there will be nothing left to stand between the people of Guinea-Bissau and contamination by the consumer society within their reach. The black market, and its twin -- emigration in search of work -- will experience exponential growth, unless the country itself balks at joining a free-market economic system, through the guarantee of a Western economic and monetary system.

France is already a candidate to further such a turnabout and Guinea-Bissau has taken the necessary steps to extricate itself from the area of African socialist countries, with its formal request for admission into the franc zone and for assistance from the World Bank. The immediate consequence: the Guinean peso was devaluated by 50 percent last January.

The regional integration program is moving forward under the combined incentives of carrot and club. It is quite likely that 1984 will bring more nudges and pushes toward Gambia's assimilation into Senegal, with enough cumulative momentum to make that assimilation permanent. It is, however, equally possible to imagine that ethnic rivalries and centrifugal thrusts will experience a new season of growth, and make it a little harder for Abdou Diouf to sleep sound o'nights.

6182

CS0: 3428/6

LACK OF DISCIPLINE, COMMITMENT IN PUBLIC SECTOR ADDRESSED

Doe Blames High Officials

Monrovia THE NEW LIBERIAN in English 28 Jun 84 pp 1, 6

[Text] Head of State, CIC Dr Samuel K. Doe, has lashed out strongly against lackadaisical attitudes among employees in the public sector.

Dr Doe who was addressing a press conference at his Executive Mansion Office yesterday, blamed ministers, managing directors, and heads of autonomous agencies for the negative attitudes of employees towards their duties.

He said these officials were not enforcing disciplinary action against employees who show total disregard for official working hours.

He urged heads of government ministries and agencies to pay frequent visits to offices within their jurisdiction to ensure that employees report to work on time and are performing their duties satisfactorily.

"All those in the habit of taking their jobs for granted should be dismissed," the Liberian leader said, noting that "this should become a policy of government effective immediately.

The lack of indiscipline and commitment, Dr Doe said, retards progress in any nation adding that it also affects government's development efforts.

Dr Doe further lashed out at ministers and others placed in authority, including chairmen and board members, for not taking the necessary initiatives in making policy decisions governing the operations of their respective agencies.

He noted that often times these highly-placed officials leave their offices and go to him with minor decision-making problems that could have been solved by the officials themselves.

The Head of State also observed the "serious over-staffing problems in government ministries, agencies and public corporation," a situation, which he said, has been tolerated because of our commitment to provide livelihood for our citizens."

The Liberian leader told journalists that a careful examination will have to be given to this situation because "many of those who have nothing to do are real liabilities to government."

Doe's 'Fourth Floor'

Monrovia THE NEW LIBERIAN in English 28 Jun 84 pp 1, 6

[Article by Zehkpehge: "Passing the Buck"]

[Text] The old saying that "truth burns the ears" was graphically illustrated yesterday when the Head of State told journalists at the Executive Mansion press conference that there is lack of discipline and commitment" within the ranks of employees of government ministries and agencies.

Chairman Doe referred to the lack of a sense of purpose and seriousness on the part of employees whom he said "are not taking their work seriously." But this is just the tip of the problem. "The lack of initiatives on the part of some ministers and managing directors" was cited as one of the causes of this problem of indiscipline in Liberia.

Of course, the Press was not surprised when the Head of State pointed to the chronic problem of indecision, or the lack of creativity, on the part of some ministers and heads of public corporations to do simple things that are within their power and authority.

If the Press is surprised at all, it is because the government has been too tolerant with hopeless administrators who run their ministries and agencies through the corridors of the "fourth floor," hiding under the shadow of "Executive approval," as a cover-up for their lack of initiative.

What Dr Doe must know, is that some of his ministers and managing directors do not lack initiatives, neither do they suffer indecision--they are just not going to dirty their hands now with hard decisions that must be made to solve pressing national problems.

The "wait-and-see" game is in full swing, and no one wants to be the "BUKU-man" (a legendary monster in Liberian folklore). Therefore, the smart thing to do is to pass the buck (blame) to the "Chief," since he is the "big man."

It is an open secret that some administrators are taking advantage of the rights of people, while hiding behind the protective shield provided by certain "connections" on the "Fourth Floor."

While lashing out at ministers and heads of autonomous agencies, Dr Doe will do well to check his "Fourth Floor" out.

If not, he may be complaining about the [word illegible] when the problem is with his foot.

CSO: 3400/2035



BANKS REFUSE TO CASH GOVERNMENT CHECKS

Monrovia THE NEW LIBERIAN in English 22 Jun 84 pp 1, 6

[Article by Lawrence Thompson]

[Text] Local bankers are refusing to encash government checks and honour checks drawn on other banks, Thomas D. Veor Hansen, governor of the National Bank of Liberia (NBL) disclosed yesterday.

He said the situation was disappointing especially when government had concluded arrangements with commercial banks for such transactions.

Governor Hansen was speaking at the monthly luncheon tendered by the Liberia Chamber of Commerce for business executives at the Ducor Hotel in Monrovia.

But some businessmen from the private sector at the luncheon argued to the contrary saying that the scheme was not in their interest.

Mr Hansen insisted that it was the obligation of commercial banks to abide by the terms of the document that was signed on May 8 this year.

He said as a result of the agreement, the Ministry of Finance had opened accounts with the various commercial banks to facilitate the encashment of government cheques.

Mr Hansen explained that the scheme was intended to relieve the problems the commercial banks were encountering due to their excess reserves with the National Bank which showed no signs of narrowing the gap.

The president of the Liberia Bankers' Association, David Vinton, said the system did not guarantee 100 percent satisfaction, but that it was an attempt to alleviate prevailing problems.

He called on his colleagues to be understanding, noting that it will take some time in overcoming obstacles.

On the refusal of the banks to cash government cheques, Mr Vinton said only L.P.A. cheques were being turned down by commercial banks.

He said certain issues needed clarification before banks could begin cashing cheques belonging to government.

CSO: 3400/2035

REORGANIZATION, UPGRADING OF AFL PROPOSED

Monrovia THE NEW LIBERIAN in English 26 Jun 84 pp 1, 6

[Article by Sam H. Johnson]

[Text] The Ministry of Defense is proposing compulsory military training for students 16 years and above.

The training exercise would be carried out for eight weeks during the annual academic break, according to recommendations published by the Defense Ministry in its annual report for 1983.

The report said the proposal is aimed at improving discipline among young people.

The Defense Ministry also recommended in the report that the James Spriggs Payne Airfield in Sinkor be extended to accommodate the army's aviation unit which in the near future would be upgraded to a combat unit.

If this is not feasible, the report suggested, then plans for the construction of an army air base should be considered.

The report further recommended that the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) arsenal at the intersection of Benson and Lynch Streets in Monrovia be relocated because its present location is hazardous and poses a threat to citizens in the vicinity.

To enable the Defense Ministry to improve the combat readiness of army personnel, it was recommended that government officials be encouraged to utilize the police in most of the non-military duties being performed by soldiers.

Also in the report is a proposal that 75 percent of the salary of an officer who dies in active duty be paid to his widow to support his children until the age of 21.

The military camp at Schiefflin also got attention in the report with a recommendation that the barracks be fenced to limit its exposure to traffic along the Robertsfield highway.

It was also recommended that the Armed Forces of Liberia be reorganized and upgraded to a division status, and budgetary appropriation for uniforms be increased by 25 percent to accommodate the anticipated change in status.

On other issues, the report took note of the praise AFL has won from the United States Military Mission to Liberia for its efforts to eliminate unsuitable and incompetent personnel from the service.

Authorities of the U.S. Military Mission were quoted as saying that civilian confidence in the military has continued to rise because soldiers who harass and commit crimes against civilians were being punished.

The U.S. mission was reported to have observed that soldiers were being made more conscious of their national responsibilities and that there were increased incidents of military personnel participating in civic activities.

According to the report, AFL presently has the strength of 6,164 men, but the report says this is 3,710 short of the authorized strength of 9,874 men.

CSO: 3400/2035

## BRIEFS

COURT HONESTY CLAIMED--Head of State, CIC Dr Samuel K. Doe said yesterday that the recent decision of the Special Theft Court in the celebrated Hilary Dennis case was a clear indication that the court was not influenced. Dr Doe, who said he appreciated the decision of the court and that the government would abide by the decision, described the ruling as "transparent justice." He said it was a clear indication that the Council does not interfere in the functions of the courts of the nation. The Liberian leader was speaking yesterday during a special press conference at the Executive Mansion. He said although it was regrettable that the prosecution had lost the case due to the inability of the Auditing Bureau and the Justice Ministry to prove the charges against the accused, it was not a crime for government to lose cases. He hoped that the various government agencies concerned would in future ensure that all documents and other evidence was on hand before engaging in legal action for the government. [Text] [Monrovia THE NEW LIBERIAN in English 28 Jun 84 pp 1, 6]

ISRAELI TRADE UNIONIST VISIT--Mr Haim Beniamini, Assistant Director of the International Institute for Development Cooperation and Labour Studies in Tel Aviv, Israel, who arrived here last week as guest of the Liberia Federation of Labour Unions (LFLU) has returned home. A release from the federation quoted (LFLU) President-General, Easmael A. Sheriff as saying that an educational package for national and international program for 1984-1985 was agreed during the meeting. The discussion which took place in the conference room of the federation also gathered participants from the alumni of the institute, ministries of labour and agriculture, and representatives of employers in Liberia. (LINA) [Excerpts] [Monrovia THE NEW LIBERIAN in English 25 Jun 84 p 3]

DANISH AGRICULTURAL LOAN--The Kpatawee and Gbedin Rice Projects in Bong and Nimba Counties are to benefit from a five million dollar Danish loan. An Agriculture Ministry release issued Monday said the loan will be used to purchase mechanized harvesting equipment and the erection of complete drying and storage facilities which are expected to maximize production of nutritional seed rice at the experimental stations. A Danish engineer and project manager from Kongskilde, Denmark, and the distributor of the storage and drying facilities are in the country to erect and try out the storage and drying facilities. Work is expected to end early November. LINA [Excerpts] [Monrovia THE NEW LIBERIAN in English 26 Jun 84 pp 1, 6]

CSO: 3400/2035

FAMINE STALKS TETE PROVINCE

Verona NIGRIZIA in Italian Jun 84 pp 14,15

[Article by Antonio Sout: 'The Angel of Death']

[Text] The social and economic situation here continues grave. Particularly harrowing is the state of affairs in the Tete area.

Mozambique's government has sent out yet another SOS: some 670,000 people in Tete province, in the northeastern sector of the country, are without food and without a prayer of a harvest in the coming months, in the wake of a drought that has lasted here since 1982.

Delegations from international organizations, humanitarian institutions, and journalists which visited Tete province last April, went home shocked and horrified by what they had seen and heard. In the streets of the province's capital, also called Tete, a town of 30,000 souls, as in other towns on the district, people have dropped dead of hunger, and their bodies have lain there for days: most of them were country people who had left their farms in search of succor in the towns and cities.

Two peasants who had been walking for several days stopped to rest on the outskirts of the city in the shade of an inn. They never woke again, so totally exhausted were they. Their decomposing bodies had been partly eaten by starving dogs. Towns once home to 3,000 souls are tiny ghost towns today, where no living being stirs: anybody who had not yet died of hunger had left.

How Many Victims?

Nobody has even a rough idea of the number of deaths the drought has already caused in Tete province, which officially has 830,000 people. Provincial authorities speak vaguely of "thousands of dead." In Chabgara district, which is neither the most populous nor the hardest-hit by the drought, recorded deaths between last November and the end of March this year were around 2,100. A missionary, thoroughly familiar with the situation almost all over

the province, says that it is highly likely that since the middle of last year, 20,000 people have died.

The first victims in this tragedy are the children. In Estima, only a few kilometers distant from one of the biggest hydroelectric plants in the world -- the famous Cabora Bassa dam -- there is a count of the victims: 175 in all, 74 of them small children.

### Survival Instinct

Despite the efforts of some local authorities to assess the scope of the tragedy, when faced with such awful difficulties simply to survive, the human mind adjusts itself to tragic situations: in Estima, UNICEF representatives wanted to know how many babies not year a year old had died. "Not a soul of that age is still alive," answered the local leaders. "Their births were never recorded; when they die, they are put into the ground without ceremony."

Of the nine districts in Tete province, those hardest hit by the drought are Moatize, Chiuta, Cabora Bassa, Mutara, Changara, and Magoe. The region that encompasses them all is mainly savannah. Many of these areas are relatively large producers of millet, manioc, and yams; it is also home to thriving sheep and cattle herds. Today, it is all but impossible to spot a single family plot of mapira (a species of millet), which is of all plants the most resistant to drought. They are there only because a little bit of rain fell in January and February this year. Those little rains might have been enough to encourage abundant sowing, but there wasn't enough seed-grain because the granaries were empty and people couldn't put anything aside, because, after all, the stomach comes first.

Livestock, too, is increasingly scarce. Thousands of head of sheep and cattle have followed their masters in successive migrations into nearby Zimbabwe. Tete authorities set the numbers of people who have fled to this neighboring country at around 30,000. Zimbabwean sources, however, say there are more than 50,000 of them. Many of the emigrants are going back home, though, because Zimbabwe itself is running short of food now, because the drought has spread there. The returnees, though, come home empty-handed, and in their gardens they find only weeds. And, if they once had a goat or two, not even the goats are left.

In Magoe, the representative of a Norwegian humanitarian organization, asked in amazement where a peasant had come by a 10-kilo tin of millet flour, an extremely rare commodity in those parts. "I swapped a she-goat for it," he replied. "I used to have five of them, but now I have only two. Whenever the little ones get really hungry, I hand over a kid."

When there is nothing left to exchange in barter like this, the people turn for survival to anything the forest has to offer. The



fruit of the baobab tree, called "imbondeiro" in these parts, is a prime source of nourishment. The fruit looks like a grey-green eggplant, and inside the rind there is a farinaceous follicle surrounding the seeds. This seed-coat, though it has no real nutritional value whatever, can serve as food for days on end. Shoots of wild herbs, wild cucumbers, and watermelon seeds -- every scrap is eaten.

Tete's provincial governor showed UNICEF representatives and reporters a bowl of seeds from a wild plant that the people eat, but first they must boil it three times, changing the water after each boiling. If they don't, these seeds could poison them. There have been cases where people were too hungry to wait all that time, and those people will never be hungry again.

### Delayed Recovery

Meanwhile, visitors here wonder about the causes of a truly tragic situation in Tete, knowing that in other provinces of the country, also affected by the drought, authorities have been taking measures ever since the latter half of last year, thus rescuing tens of thousands of people from starvation.

The main cause appears to be the state of guerrilla war which, although it also affects other provinces, has had a more serious effect here since communications, which are normal with the rest of the country, are almost totally shut down, except for air transit. The guerrilla war also hampers access to some areas, making it difficult to ascertain the situation and, consequently, to determine what aid, if any, is needed. And again, it is the guerrilla war that deepens the tragedy of these tens of thousands of human beings, because many of them have had to abandon their home neighborhoods and have consequently lost all their household goods to thieves.

Mozambique's grave economic straits have other implications as well, ranging from the lack of domestic resources to succor local populations to fuel shortages. Because of the lack of gasoline, kerosene, or naphtha, almost everything that is motor-driven has ground to a halt. This gives rise to paradoxical situations: despite the fact that the small watercourses are dry, the province is traversed by several huge rivers, like the Zambesi, on which stands the Cabora Bassa dam which forms an artificial lake 300 kilometers long and 50 wide. The water, though, is going to waste because, in the absence of fuel, the water-trucks are paralyzed and irrigation systems cannot be built. In some areas with electricity, like Moatize, there are no electric pumps, and the engineers gloomily stand guard over the power lines.

In addition to all this, some of the representatives from international organizations which recently moved to Tete are complaining about inefficiency on the part of local authorities.



SOMALIA

BRIEFS

SPANISH AIRCRAFT--Somalia has bought six CASA (Spain) C-212 Aviocar transport aircraft, four in cargo version and two for VIP transport. [Text]  
[Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jun 84 p 28]

CSO: 3400/2038

NATIONALIST, FAR RIGHT COMMENTS ON BOTHA'S MISSION ABROAD

Namibia-West Must Share Responsibility

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 10 Jun 84 p 14

[Editorial: "P.W. Botha's Offer"]

[Text] People must not misunderstand Prime Minister P. W. Botha's offer to the five Western powers that they can, jointly or separately, take over the administration and defense of the South-West.

This is not a sell-out of the people of the South-West.

This is not a capitulation to enemy powers.

This is not a dodging of South Africa's commitments and promises with respect to the South-West.

The important condition presented at all times is that the Cubans must first of all get out of Angola. This means that if the Western powers think they can quickly lead the country to independence they will have to cooperate in getting rid of the Cubans in Angola who are at the root of the problem of the South-West's independence.

It is clear that the prime minister made the offer for the purpose of forcing the Western countries to see the facts as they are: The South-West cannot carry on economically in a war against SWAPO; by taking this burden on itself South Africa has shown its good intentions to the people of the South-West.

The Western countries' immediate reaction to the proposal was negative and although it is still under consideration we believe that those countries are not going to accept this responsibility. It is so much easier to leave this to South Africa.

Like those of other industrial countries these Western leaders, with their sacrosanct preachings from their Western ivory towers, are very much inclined to hold South Africa responsible for actually everything that goes wrong and delays independence.

However, they do not wish to do their part in accepting co-responsibility in the task of keeping up the South-West's economy of protecting the country against SWAPO and its Cuban comrades who present one obstruction after the other on the road to peace.

Mr P. W. Botha pointed out that it is costing South Africa 658 million rand annually to keep the South-West going and to protect it and that, per capita, this is the biggest amount in the world granted by one country to another for the latter's welfare. This is an enormous burden, especially in the light of the high demands made on the treasury by South Africa's Third World sector.

Rightly so, it is in South Africa's interest that there be peace and stability in the South-West, but it is likewise in the West's interest that the South-West must not be thrown to the proverbial wolves.

The burden upon South Africa has become a great deal heavier as a result of the serious recession affecting the three most important components of the South-West's economy: Agriculture as a result of the drawn out drought, uranium export as a result of the actual drop in world demand for uranium, the diamond industry as a result of overproduction and a lower demand especially for gem diamonds.

Western countries must ask themselves: Is it reasonable to expect South Africa to bear this burden alone? Is it reasonable to continuously exercise pressure on South Africa with respect to the South-West's independence under these circumstances?

The time has come for those countries to actively contribute their part so that lasting peace and true freedom for the people of the South-West can be assured. They must not shirk this obligation.

#### Bitter Far Right Criticism

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 13 Jun 84 p 4

[Editorial: "The Trip of P. W. Botha"]

[Text] What was the purpose of Mr P. W. Botha's foreign trip on board that Boeing aircraft bearing a cargo full of praise giving journalists, armed guards and official advisers?

On the one hand the answer is implied in the excessive publicity given to this matter before and during the trip. If this was really a diplomatic triumph then the praise giving should have waited until after the trip was over. The fact that in many of the headlines of government newspapers there was such great adulation of Mr P. W. Botha, even when the trip was just starting, speaks volumes to us.

Anyone who knows the publicity method of a party that must conceal its real aim, as the Nationalist Party is doing ever since it has become the party of

change, will recognize this latest exercise for what it is. Mr P. W. Botha is playing a game for the foreign stage and is expecting that the foreign applause will be convincing the voters at home that he is a man of international stature and that if he is applauded abroad then his actions must be correct.

The cargo of journalists was taken along to make sure that if the foreign applause turned out to be somewhat muffled then the volume must be amplified so that the mere rumbling must overwhelm the voters just in case they could not be convinced.

There were two main things in which Mr Botha had to succeed: one of these was that the British Government must take action against the ANC in London and the other that the British and Portuguese Governments must agree that the Cubans must get out of Angola before UN Resolution 435 is applied in South-West Africa.

Both of these efforts failed. The Portuguese Government promptly dismissed the ideas with respect to the Cubans and in typical British manner Mrs. Thatcher ambiguously disapproved and approved this, while her spokesmen, treating this matter several days before, stated expressly that the Thatcher government's view is that the Cubans in Angola and the application of Resolution 435 have nothing to do with each other.

Not only did Mr Botha fail with respect to the Cuban question, but he was forced into conceding that he is willing to guarantee free access to Windhoek to terrorist leader Sam Nujoma so that "matters of common interest" could be discussed. From the first talks with SWAPO in Geneva in 1981, to those that were held closer in Lusaka this year, now Mr Botha is willing to discuss, or have someone discuss, "matters of common interest" with the terrorists in Windhoek. If this is a diplomatic triumph, then capitulation is a victory.

As for the ANC the failure was even more spectacular. The British made it clear that they are in no way considering to apply pressure on the ANC to have them get out of Britain.

To be sure Mrs Thatcher's viewpoint favors more the side of the ANC than that of South Africa. This is the payment with Mr P. W. Botha is getting from the British after his "Nationalist" Party (according to the very Mrs Thatcher) "was exceptionally hopeful with the Rhodesian problem."

To rub in British contempt for this South African helpfulness Mrs Thatcher did not even receive Mr P. W. Botha at the front door of her official residence and all the British hospitality gotten by Mr Botha was to land at the Heathrow Airport, then transported by helicopter to Mrs Thatcher's residence and then straight back to the airport for departing immediately on the South African Boeing.

Anybody who knows something about British-South African history will realize that this is the most humiliating episode in British-South African diplomacy.

With all the hate fomented against President Kruger by the Rhodes clique and the British press no British office bearer has comported himself with such disdain.

Mr P. W. Botha's mission with respect to the ANC did not only fail miserably, he also allowed himself to be pressured into conceding that he is now willing to negotiate with the ANC. This is a concession which he was apparently committed to make, because he had concluded peace with FRELIMO, another communist organization.

Mr P. W. Botha's foreign visit was a scandalously expensive exercise in futility in the midst of a depression in which thousands of people are in financial distress while taxation pressure and the cost of living are rising continuously. This shows an insensitivity for the trying realities of the South Africa of today, an insensitivity comparable to the salary increase of 42 percent which Mr P. W. Botha and his ministers gave to themselves.

That is bad, but not the worst. What is worse is that Mr Botha's renowned obsequious episode has weakened South Africa's diplomatic position. Where previously the British had concealed their diplomatic disinclination to some degree, now they have made it known worldwide. In addition Mr Botha's raising the question of the Shackleton aircraft has made it possible for the British to make their refusal to give South Africa any help in this respect known all over the world.

The great journalistic hullabaloo which accompanied the tour only served to advertise the diplomatic failure to the detriment and embarrassment of South Africa.

Mr P. W. Botha does not want to learn from the history of British enmity against Afrikanerdom and of British betrayal of the whites in Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Therefore he is condemned to relive history.

South Africa cannot afford the diplomatic triumphal processions of Botha.

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CSO: 3401/86

CISKEI-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS STRAINED

Financial Irresponsibility Blamed

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 21 Jun 84 p 4

[Article by the Political Reporter: "Ciskei's Money Source Can Dry-up"]

[Text] Capetown--If in the long run the Ciskei government continues to persist with its very unhealthy financial policy and especially with spending tremendously large sums on non-profitable projects, then some of its money sources derived from South African authorities may be endangered.

This possibility was mentioned to BEELD in political circles yesterday in the midst of strong indications that relations between South Africa and Ciskei are the poorest in years.

High level circles in South Africa are worried over the manner in which the Ciskei government is evidently spending money unobjectively, while President Lennox Sebe frequently makes virulent attacks against the South African government.

BEELD was told that the Ciskei government must realize that it depends on South Africa for an important part of its income.

Although South Africa is not going to consider cutting off all aid to Ciskei a way must be found for warning the Ciskei government that it must handle money much more carefully.

High South African Government circles are already expressing concern over an airport, costing about 25 million rand, being considered by the Ciskei government.

Ciskei has also made agreements with entities in Israel for the sinfully expensive training of pilots. There is serious doubt as to whether the air traffic to and from Ciskei justifies the expensive undertaking with the airport and the pilots.

South Africa is also concerned about the manner in which officials in Ciskei are appointed left and right only to be fired a month or so later.



Taken as an example are the strange circumstances of the imprisonment of Gen Charles Sebe, who is a younger brother of President Sebe and until fairly recently was chief of security and one of the most powerful persons in Ciskei.

Today he is in jail serving a 12 year sentence because of violation of security laws. According to President Sebe his brother had extended himself over him.

Reference has also been made to the appointment of Mr Rowan Cronje, a former Rhodesian cabinet member, as advisor to President Sebe. One month after his appointment he was dismissed unexpectedly and without explanation.

All these things are making it very difficult for South Africa to get on with Ciskei. It is a known fact that South African emissaries, among whom Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Louis Nel, were recently in Ciskei to discuss the situation.

If matters cannot be settled at a negotiation level, BEELD was told that a reconsideration of South Africa's financial help will be the only way out.

#### Editorial Examines Relations

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 22 Jun 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Two Sides"]

[Text] If the history of Africa has proven one thing in the past 2 decades it is that the emancipation and the granting of freedom to people is a complicated process which must be managed with great insight and patience. Attesting to this is the failure of many African countries to stand on their own legs in contrast with the history of South Africa where the political emancipation process over a period of half a century was no less than successful.

The South African Government has taken the delicacy of this process at heart in conducting its policy of emancipation of its homelands and although these countries have become independent South Africa has not suddenly left them in the lurch financially and otherwise.

Unfortunately there are signs of a misconception of the emancipation process on the part of leaders such as President Lennox Sebe. He wants to undertake majestic projects for Ciskei, such as his own airport costing 25 million rand, but he does not want to recognize the reality that he depends heavily on South Africa in financial matters. Symbolism is important for a young and growing country and wanting its own black pilots is understandable; however, you must take into account the reality that you do not yet have any airplanes or perhaps afford them.

There are two sides to emancipation and President Sebe must bear this in mind. South Africa's side is that it is granting a considerably large amount of developmental aid, but, as the prime minister has just emphasized in Europe, it insists that this help be utilized sensibly. President Sebe's side is that he had to realize that every country must first learn to crawl before it can walk (or fly).



KWAZULU LAND INCORPORATION INTO SWAZILAND SHELVED

Johannesburg DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 21 Jun 84 p 10

[Editorial: "A Lesson for the Future"]

[Text] The government will surely want to forget Ingwavuma just as quickly as a lot of Nationalists who could not make head or tail of this affair from the very beginning. To tell the truth many questions will be left unanswered after Minister of Cooperation and Development Dr Koornhof announced this week that South Africa is no longer proceeding with negotiations on this matter with Swaziland and Kangwane KwaZulu.

Questions have come up such as why and whose idea was it originally to incorporate a part of KwaZulu into Swaziland. Why was this matter initially pushed with so much haste. As it later became apparent, why did the government receive conflicting information about the feelings of the inhabitants of the region in question with respect to incorporation with Swaziland and why this matter is now being shelved indefinitely.

As time went on there were also a couple of expensive court cases and, in addition, the government decided to set up a commission for studying the question of incorporation...thus entailing more money which (thank goodness) need no longer be allotted for this, because the commission has also been dissolved.

Worse yet was the political by-product of the former decision. The Progressive Federal Party went on to say that this measure was indicative of the government's disdain for the rights and desires of the Zulus; Chief Minister Buthelezi took delight in expressing himself more or less along the same line and for the far right this was grist for the mills of the Conservative Party and Reconstituted Nationalist Party who gleefully joined voices in singing the well known "give away" song.

In brief it was evident that the government had failed to foresee everything that Ingwavuma had unchained on the economic, political and interracial fields. Although we admit that originally intentions were good (like the view that the Swazi nation, which is geographically widely scattered, could start to be reunited) we were convinced that the dispute would have never been so long drawn out. When, exactly two years ago, shortly after the decision was made, it was realized that this matter was much more complicated than it was assumed to be, we should have called a halt to it then.

Therefore, let Ingwavuma be a lesson for the future.

REACTION TO HORWOOD'S RETIREMENT REPORTED

Mixed Emotions

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 29 Jun 84 p 5

[Article by Howard Preece]

[Text]

**PLENTY** of justified pride and a number of major regrets.

This mixed bag of emotions will surely reflect the feelings of 68-year-old Mr Owen Horwood when he retires this year after nearly a decade's service as Minister of Finance.

His biggest regret, obviously, will be the present difficulties facing the economy.

He will readily admit to disappointments here — particularly at his inability to bring inflation below 11%.

Mr Horwood has, however, also had triumphs and has been at the centre of some fundamental changes in the whole approach of government to the economy.

With Dr Gerhard de Kock, Governor of the Reserve Bank, he has struggled to bring about a much greater market-orientated attitude in financial policy-making.

In some areas, it is true, the reformist talk has been rather more impressive than the actual deeds. But that is partly because of the strength of the many vested interests that have resisted change.

Mr Horwood has also had to operate, presumably quite happily, within the confines of a grand apartheid policy which has always accepted that supposed political priorities must take priority over pure economic objectives.

Overall he has had his share of good and bad fortune.

Like many a politician (and football manager) Mr Horwood has been lavishly praised beyond his due, when things have gone well, and excessively criticised when events turned sour.

In general, he has enjoyed a high level of popularity with the business community although there is no doubt that his credibility now is less than it was in the glory days of 1979-81.

On the international stage, his opportunities have been limited, but he has generally handled well the chances that have come to him.

Let us, however, look at South Africa's economic record under Mr Horwood and at the background of the man who is now one of the world's longest-serving ministers of finance.

He took over the job in early 1975 from Dr Nico Diederichs.

Mr Horwood had come into the Cabinet as a Senator in 1972 when he was appointed Minister of Tourism and Indian Affairs. Mr John Vorster, then Prime Minister, clearly had him marked down as Dr Diederichs' successor and this was confirmed when he became Minister of Economic Affairs.

Mr Horwood, a product of Paarl Boys' High, was appointed principal of Natal University in 1965.

His record as an academic economist had included spells at the University of Cape Town and at what was once the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

When Mr Horwood took over from Dr Diederichs, just before the 1975 Budget, he soon faced an economic situation with some uncomfortable parallels to today.

There had been a major boom in 1974, fuelled by a gold price surge. This had been accompanied by steep increases in Government spending, by excessive increases in the money supply and by inflation running above 10%.

The natural cyclical turnaround in the economy was then aggravated by a decline in the gold price — which worsened alarmingly in the second half of 1975 — and saw the rand devalued twice in the old regime of fixed exchange rates.

For the next three years Mr Horwood was engaged in a painful period of reconstruction economics — a recipe of orthodox

deflation, including considerable restraint of public spending.

This involved a natural cost in growth and employment but it also brought the conventional rewards. A current account deficit on the balance of payments of R1,813bn in 1975 was converted into a R1,330bn surplus by 1978.

Inflation over the same period came down from about 12% to an annual level of 8%, though only briefly, alas.

The role of the public sector in the economy was proportionately cut back.

By 1979 the economy was ready for another growth phase and another gold price rush on the back of the second international oil crisis turned the upturn into a raging boom in 1980, with 8% growth.

Foreign bankers flocked to SA, in the best perverse traditions, begging the country to borrow money it did not want.

Indeed, the reverse problem was the case.

Exchange controls helped surplus liquidity to build up dangerously in the economy while a

chronic shortage of skilled labour fanned cost pressures.

At the same time, the earlier tough approach to State spending gave way to laxness.

All these factors combined to generate an inflationary upsurge that has bedevilled the economy in the past few years and casts the main doubt on the outlook for the mid-1980s.

As Minister of Finance, Mr Horwood must accept the responsibility for this, although he has no doubt had problems as an English-speaker with no real political power in the National Party to stand up to the big spenders in the Cabinet.

He has also tried, with Dr De Kock, to make radical changes on the exchange control policy side, though these reforms have been less in practice than is sometimes assumed.

For all that, Mr Owen Horwood has patently done his best to serve his country and he will leave office with a great deal of business goodwill — but in rather chilly economic times.

#### Powerful, Controversial Minister

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jun 84 p 11

[Article by Peter Sullivan]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — Whatever history might say about the abilities of Mr Owen Pieter Faure Horwood as a Minister of Finance, it is not likely to be kind about him as a party politician.

Never elected, he served as a Cabinet Minister for 12 years, nine of them as Minister of Finance.

Every time there was an election, there were calls on Mr Horwood to stand for public office so the voters of Natal could show how they felt about him. Every time Mr Horwood declined.

Once, in 1978, he said he was available to stand in the by-election due to be held in Vryheid, but later withdrew. There were reports that he would have lost the nomination contest within the National Party, let alone the election.

His entry to the Cabinet was via the Senate, an institution which had become the dumping ground for political hacks. Mr Horwood was no hack and soon took over the Cabinet leadership.

He was also made leader of the National Party in Natal, being the only English-speaking Minister and the only one based in Natal.

Mr Horwood was born on December 6 1916 at Somerset East, matriculated at Paarl Boys' High School in 1935, and obtained a B Comm at the University of Cape Town.

That he had only a bachelor's degree was to haunt him when he was principal of the University of Natal nearly 30 years later. He clashed repeatedly with the student body and they derided him in all student publications as "Mr O P F Horwood, B Comm, second class".

If the truth be told, there are no doubts that Mr Horwood was an excellent teacher of economics and had a knack of putting complex economic theory into language undergraduates could understand.

In 1946 he married Helen Watt, sister of Mrs Janet Smith, the wife of Mr Ian Smith, who was later to be Rhodesian Prime Minister.

In the following year Mr Horwood was appointed a senior lecturer at UCT and, later the same year, was given the post of head of the department of economics at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Ten years later he was offered the chair of economics at the University of Natal in Durban and, eight years later he became principal of the university.

There is no doubt that he was the most controversial principal that institution has ever had. His strong conservative views clashed with the students' liberal attitudes on issues such as detention without trial, the right to peaceful protest, the freedom of the student newspaper.

At first a member of the United Party, he wrote many articles before becoming principal criticising National Party policy.

Then he was accused of being a Nationalist in disguise, of having fooled the university into thinking he agreed with their ideals and it was no surprise when, finally, he admitted that he had joined the National Party.

To the the jubilation of the student body, he resigned as principal on July 31 1969 and said: "I have decided that the time has come for me to give my full support to the Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, as the country's elected leader."

A reporter wrote at the time: "A staunch anti-republican, a pundit who prophesied doom for a South Africa shorn of its Commonwealth market ties, a severe critic of job reservation, a champion of underpaid non-whites, an advocate of African trade unions and an economist who condemned the Government's 'fantastic Bantustan policy' because it 'offends against every canon of sound economics'."

"This was Professor Owen Horwood before he became principal of the University of Natal..."

He has never found favour with reporters, lashing out at them in public speeches, telephoning them to complain when criticised and threatening legislation to curb the Press as soon as he was in the Cabinet.

When he became a senator in 1970, a wit wrote: "Who could follow a Trollip into the Senate? Only a Horwood..."

He was made Minister of Indian Affairs and Tourism in 1972, elected Leader of the National Party in Natal the same year, Minister of Economic Affairs two years later and Minister of Finance in February 1975.

He soon earned a reputation for being uncompromising with Cabinet colleagues who wanted money for constituency buttering.

Nicknamed "Cohen Horwood" by his colleagues, he refused them money and earned their respect.

Businessmen, financial writers, and the commercial "establishment" praised Mr Horwood for his control, his discipline, his refusal to bow under pressure.

His public relations have remained woeful throughout his time in the Cabinet — but what else could be expected from a man who never had to face an electorate.

Mr Horwood's Budgets have fluctuated with the gold price in terms of what they offered the man in the street.

According to financial experts, he was influenced by his officials and listened to their advice. But his controls failed to curb inflation adequately and allowed the money supply to get out of control.

This year's Budget has been described as disastrous — and it was followed by an increase in GST only six weeks after he had promised none.

Yet, of all the political actions and all the financial actions he has taken, perhaps the one which will remain longest in the public mind is the one most favoured by cartoonists.

It comes from the Information scandal when Mr Horwood admitted — in fact, insisted — that he had signed an authorisation after deliberately shielding himself from the information it contained.

No matter how economic pundits may judge his performance as an economist or as a Minister of Finance, politically his refusal to confront the facts will remain his epitaph.

He will retire at the end of the session after an illustrious career — but a career that was, like the curate's egg, only good in parts.

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jun 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Legacy of the Horwood Years"]

[Text]

IF Mr Horwood had stepped down as Minister of Finance when news of his impending retirement first leaked out about two years ago, he would have left at the top, virtually without a flaw in his performance. Now he will go to his new banking job with the disconcerting knowledge that things have gone badly awry in the last six to 12 months. Not all the ills can be blamed on the drought: the Government failed to recognise how serious a position the country was getting into and did not act positively enough to cure the ailments.

But judged over a 10-year period, Mr Horwood brought stature to his portfolio. He created a good fiscal image abroad and developed sound relations with the international banking fraternity. In the last few years he was fortunate to head a team of technocrats, particularly Dr Gerhard de Kock and Dr Joop de Loor, who talked more or less the

same language. In some respects this unanimity could be attributed to the Minister's ability to listen and to recognise what was best for the country, a course that was not always considered in the interests of National Party policy. Indeed, Mr Horwood recently came under enormous pressure as Government popularity was whittled away.

Mr Horwood's Treasury was not as tough on financial discipline as he professed annually in his Budget speeches. The money supply was at too high a level as he failed to reduce consumer spending, by consensus the most urgent need. Although the South African economy is going through a shaky period, it is intrinsically sound. The new Finance Minister will have to tighten discipline, but persist with current policy, which is on the right lines. If he bows to the inclination for popular political policies, he will create an uglier mess.



RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS FOR TAIWAN INDUSTRIALS MAY BE RELAXED

DeKlerk Discusses Possibility

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 27 Jun 84 p 10

[Article by Priscilla Whyte]

[Text]

**RESIDENCE permit regulations for Taiwanese industrialists may be further relaxed, says Mr F W de Klerk, the Minister of Internal Affairs.**

He referred to this possibility at the annual general meeting of the South Africa/Republic of China Chamber of Economic Relations in Johannesburg.

The Government had decided in May to extend the residence period from three to five years for industrialists and key personnel who wanted to establish industries in South Africa and especially in the national states.

He said the chamber had recently submitted a number of fresh proposals.

These included the establishment of a link between the amount to be invested and the number of key personnel to be admitted and to relate the amount to be invested to the period of residence.

Mr De Klerk said the submission was under consideration.

He said, however, that investment *per se* could not be the only criterion for admission.

"Experience has shown that foreign investment in a specific area of economic activity may be counter-productive to other vested interests."

The criterion was that as many job opportunities as possible be created for the southern African population.

In the framework of the Government's centralisation policy, the locality of new ventures played an important role in evaluation.

Mr De Klerk welcomed dialogue between the two countries to promote sound trade relations.

Total two-way trade between South Africa and Taiwan had amounted to only R443,5m in 1983.

He that in 1981 South Africa had exported R103m of maize to Taiwan. This had dropped to R14m in 1983 because of the forced cancellation of orders in the wake of the drought.

In 1983, South Africa's exports to Taiwan were 0,9% of the grand total. Imports from Taiwan represented 1,5% of the grand total.

## General Approval Seen

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 23 Jun 84 p 12

[Editorial: "Justice for Chinese Should Include the Vote"]

[Text]

**THERE** will be general approval of the Government's long-delayed action in removing racial restrictions on the Chinese community — something that was promised a long time ago when South Africa and Taiwan became close friends.

The Chinese can now assimilate entirely with white South Africans, with whom they have formed their closest ties, and the next essential step is that they should be given the right to vote in the white Parliament.

In our racially complex society, the small numbers of Chinese will not play a significant political role and they can be expected to continue contributing to the general welfare of the country as they have always done.

The pity of it is that the "numbers game" will prevent the same

being done for South Africans of all races. Instead, a separate-chambered Parliament has had to be devised to accommodate Indians and coloureds, while the Nationalists' solution for blacks remains an imponderable.

But at least the Group Areas Amendment Bill shows movement, including scope for ending restrictions on coloured and Indian businessmen in certain areas. Here again there is hesitancy, because of the fear of right-wing criticism — African businessmen are still excluded and the exemptions will be made piecemeal by the State President.

It will presumably be up to local authorities to ask for restrictions to be removed. We hope Eastern Cape towns are first in line with their applications.

CSO: 3400/2037



ATTITUDES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26, 27, 28 Jun 84

[26 Jun 84 p 12]

[Part 1 of series "Campus Politics" by Jean Hey: "Verligte Afrikaners Fading?"]

[Text]

Politics on Afrikaans campuses is no longer a brotherly affair. The National Party always had strong support at the five universities, but there is now a strong attack from left and right.

Since the beginning of the 1980s Afrikaans student splinter-groups have questioned the path of the Government, their forefathers and Afrikanerdom.

But the verligte gusts that swept through Stellenbosch, the University of the Free State, RAU and the universities of Pretoria and Potchefstroom at the beginning of the 1980s seem to have lost much of their momentum, conviction and force.

While more and more research by Afrikaner academics challenges Government ideology, the verligte students who in the early 1980s loudly condemned forced removals, deaths in detention and the homelands policy now seem to have lost their impetus.

Polstu — the Afrikaner students' political body formed to fight for a "just and free South Africa" — emerged in 1980, and for the first time the views of the National Party were seriously challenged on the five campuses.

Within a year Polstu had attracted more than 500 members. It seemed to flourish under the barrage of criticism from an outraged Afrikaner community, and made strong anti-Government declarations in the face of a bitter right-wing backlash. It even initiated talks with black leaders.

On the Orange Free State campus Polstu speakers had eggs hurled at them and some of its leaders received death threats. The organisation was for a time banned from the Potchefstroom campus.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, warned members to beware of radicalism. Still Polstu continued unperturbed.

But four years after it was launched the organisation seems to have run out of steam. It no longer has a national network and the office at Potchefstroom University has died — "due to lack of interest", says the SRC president, Mr Danie du Plessis.

The chairman of Polstu on the Rand Afrikaans University campus, Mr Gerhard van Eeden, explained: "As soon as you take a strong stand, you are labelled 'radical'. Other students feel there is an overt danger. Then

they don't want to mix with you.

"At RAU we have decided Polstu will have more impact if it plays just an educational role — the average Afrikaner student does not know what is going on. He is ignorant about matters such as removals, and has not heard of the Mogopa affair.

"Polstu distributes educational pamphlets, but it will take years for their effect to be felt."

Mr van Eeden said that only after Polstu had created a stronger powerbase would it revert to the "radical political stand" it adopted at the beginning of the decade.

Polstu had its origins when concerned students split with the conservative Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB). The ASB has in the last few years tried desperately to avoid further political rupture in its ranks.

The ASB has battled to remain representative of the full Afrikaner political spectrum.

But this has been a difficult task in the face of the rift in the National Party which led to the founding of the Conservative Party, and the subsequent dissent in the Afrikaner Broederbond.

It was a determination not to alienate any of its members that last year firmly kept its conference on an apolitical path.

The congress concentrated on generally uncontentious subjects such as horoscopes and the commercialisation of Christmas.

"Afrikaner unity must rise above party politics," says the ASB president, Mr Andre Bartlett, who is a known Conservative Party member.

A motion passed at the conference reaffirmed the position of the ASB as a purely cultural body, committed to Afrikanerdom and Afrikaner unity.

But while its strength in numbers is impressive, its effectiveness must remain limited as long as it dodges thorny political issues.

[27 Jun 84 p 7]

[Part 2 of series "Campus Politics" by Jean Hey: "Right Claims Foothold"]

[Text] The constant barrage of posters, pamphlets and meetings on the English-speaking campuses says it all--the battle between conservative and left-wing students has continued unflaggingly into 1984 with each claiming a surge in popularity.

The pamphlets proclaim: "1984's biggest untold news story"... "Join the campus revolution"... "We are the future."

The conservative camp claims it has never been stronger. The Wits Students' Moderate Alliance (SMA)--committed to "liberating students from oppressive left-wing forces"--says its membership has tripled in the last year.

"We want to mobilise the mass of moderate, apathetic and apolitical students and explain how they are being manipulated by radical students," said Mr Russell Crystal, the first chairman of the SMA.

In a strong counter-attack, the president of Nusas, Ms Kate Philip, dismissed these allegations as nothing more than right-wing paranoia.

"The conservative societies are obsessed with Nusas and churn out pamphlets in an attempt to discredit it," she said.

Last year the SMA distributed 90 000 pamphlets and 1 200 posters "to try to bring about a sense of patriotism" on English-speaking campuses. Nusas, say the conservatives, constantly tries to undermine patriotism.

Despite harsh allegations against it, Nusas claims to welcome right-wing criticism because of the publicity it brings.

"There has always been right-wing opposition to Nusas on English-speaking campuses. The pity is that it has led to mud-slinging instead of intelligent debate," said Ms Phillip.

Conservative organisations at Wits, Maritzburg and Cape Town this year formed an umbrella National Student Federation to launch a concerted attack against Nusas.

As its chairman, Mr Crystal has accused Nusas and the student representative councils that support it of being "illicit" platforms for left-wing students.

"Like all radical groups, Nusas is just another cleverly created tool aimed at the destruction of the State and at undermining the will of the Western world," Mr Crystal told Rau students earlier this year.

The conservative campaign may be reaping some rewards. Not since 1975 has Nusas enjoyed a united platform on all five English-speaking campuses. Rhodes University has had five referenda in six years to decide whether to affiliate to Nusas. At present it is disaffiliated.

While Ms Phillip admits to the strong political involvement of Nusas, she says there is more to it than that.

"Students are part of the educated elite and have a particular responsibility to our society. Nusas tries to help students decide how they can best use their skills to contribute to change in South Africa."

Ms Phillip also believes students must be seen to take a

stand. Through action they can bring injustices to the attention of the broader community, she says.

Since 1948, Nusas has fought the apartheid system. It is no wonder that in the process it has collided with the Government which has leant its full weight to the anti-Nusas campaign.

As Minister of Justice, Mr B J Vorster called Nusas a "cancer to be rooted out". Its leaders have been detained, banned and threatened, while the organisation itself has been the subject of Government commissions.

According to Ms Phillip, this year has seen the most intense harassment that Nusas has experienced in the last decade. In the space of one month:

- Pamphlets were sent to the parents of more than 100 pro-Nusas students at Wits, UCT, Durban and Rhodes campuses, claiming their children were involved in ANC-linked activities.

- Eight Wits SRC members received death threats.

- The car tyres of Wits SRC president Mr Brendan Barry were slashed and he was assaulted while collecting signatures for the United Democratic Front.

- Bricks were thrown through the windows of other pro-Nusas student leaders and through Kate Phillip's car window.

- Paint remover was sprayed on some cars.

- Stickers saying "KGB approved" were stuck on Nusas posters at Wits and on the Maritzburg campus.

Said Ms Phillip: "The right wing is resorting to violence out of frustration because attempts to break Nusas through peaceful opposition have failed dismally."

[28 Jun 84 p 12]

[Part 3 of series "Campus Politics" by Michael Tissong: "Clash of Opposing Ideologies"]

[Text]

The two student bodies active today among black university students — the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) and the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) — reflect the divided political viewpoints of mainstream politics among blacks.

The division was formalised in 1959 with the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its student wing, the African Student Union of South Africa (Asusa). These two were formed as an alternative to the African National Congress (ANC) and its African Students' Association (ASA).

The ANC, which adopted the Freedom Charter, accepted that whites had a political role to play in the struggle for liberation. The PAC saw whites as oppressors and therefore did not accord them any role in the fight against apartheid. Both organisations and their student wings were banned in 1960.

Azaso was started by the Black Consciousness group, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), as its student wing in July 1979. BC's basic premise was that blacks would be the architects of their own liberation and future.

When Azaso ditched its BC orientation for the "progressive" viewpoint that whites could be accommodated in the liberation struggle, Azasm was formed in July 1983 to carry the torch of BC.

Azasm rejected the idea that black students ought to fight their oppression side by side with white students.

It also said it was "anti-racist" in that it was fighting South Africa's institutionalised racism — apartheid. It limited membership to black students, maintaining that "only blacks can liberate themselves".

Azasm national organiser Mr Jackie Hlapolosa said black students had to organise themselves on their own because of the day-to-day experiences black students faced as black people.

He said that before the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) was formed in 1969, "some black students belonged to the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

"At the 1968 Nusas congress at Rhodes University, black students directly experienced apartheid. They had to use separate amenities. It was part of the problem they faced as black people.

"After that Steve Biko, Strini Moodley and Barney Pitsoana among others initiated a break-away to form the BC-oriented Saso," he said. Saso was banned in 1977.

Today, less than a year since its formation, Azasm has established branches on many campuses. Some of the branches are unofficial because university authorities have clamped down on organised student politics.

Publicity secretary Mr Kabele Lengane accused Student Representative Councils at white English-speaking campuses where there are large numbers of black students of refusing to let their branches be recognised.

He said the white-controlled SRCs found Azasm unacceptable because Azasm limited membership to black students. Azaso branches, by contrast, were recognised by the SRCs.

Mr Lengane pointed out that Azasm could not campaign with white students even in a limited manner.

"Whatever action we take should be derived from principles. Our principles are based on BC and we just cannot work

with people who we see as the problem in our society," he said.

During recent demonstrations by about 500 black students at the University of Cape Town, students with Azasm links were involved. They led the battle against the lack of accommodation and transport for black students.

They rejected proposed white student participation in the demonstrations. White students stayed out.

During the demonstrations, 10 of the students pitched tents on campus in front of Jameson Hall, where they braved the bitter Cape winter to make their point.

In contrast, Azaso works closely with white students.

A recent anti-Republic Day demonstration at the University of the Witwatersrand was organised jointly by Azaso and the Wits SRC.

Azaso president Mr Tiego Moseneke and SRC president Mr Brendan Barry shared a platform.

During another demonstration, also organised by the SRC and Azaso on Wits campus, a crowd of Azaso members stood behind Nusas president Ms Kate Phillip when she raised a clenched fist in solidarity with

black students who were taking action at schools and universities.

Azaso committed the organisation to the Freedom Charter in July 1983 and adopted non-racial principles. Mr Moseneke denied that this put Azaso into conflict with students of the BC persuasion who do not recognise the constructive role of white students in their struggle.

"There is a home in Azaso for all students irrespective of their outlook," he said in July 1983. His conviction was not borne out by events. Many Azaso students left the organisation to form the rival Azasm that same month.

Mr Moseneke said he believed the ideological conflict between the Azaso and Azasm — as between Charterists and BC groups in general — was over leadership and not ideals.

Azaso recognised imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela as the representative voice of South Africa. Azasm looked on Mandela as one of several leaders of the country. A representative voice would be decided at a free election.

He argued that BC views did not differ substantially from the Freedom Charter. He suggested that the play on words — for instance, substituting "anti-racist" for "non-racial" — was irrelevant.

REPORT CLAIMS 'DEMOCRAT WIN COULD HARM SA'

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 20 Jun 84 p 9

[Text]

WASHINGTON: If the Democrats win the US elections in November, they will dump the Reagan policy of constructive engagement in Southern Africa and, among other sanctions, move to deny South African Airways landing rights in America.

If President Ronald Reagan is beaten, the new US Administration — almost certain to be headed by Walter Mondale — will probably adopt a policy of steadily increasing sanctions until South Africa grants independence to South West Africa/Namibia and abolishes apartheid.

Details of the Democratic Party's policy proposals toward South Africa became known here this week when the party released draft copies of its "platform" to be presented at its convention in San Francisco next month.

### Blueprint

The draft, compiled under the supervision of Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro, a leading

candidate for the vice-presidential nomination, is a working summary of the party's domestic and foreign policies and is a blueprint for the approaching political battle with the Republicans.

The section dealing with South Africa strongly reflects the views of Mr Mondale and includes a number of sanction measures that have been approved by the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives but blocked so far by the Republican-controlled Senate.

The draft is subject to changes and the final form must be approved at the convention — but it is unlikely that any of the anti-South African items will be watered down. For one thing, the Rev Jesse Jackson will be making tough anti-apartheid demands in return for black support in November.

The draft document says that "a Democratic president will reverse the Reagan Administration's failed policy of constructive engagement and strongly and unequivocally oppose



the apartheid regime in South Africa."

It says a Democratic administration will:

- Exert maximum pressure on South Africa to hasten the establishment of a democratic, unitary political system within South Africa.
- Pursue scrupulous enforcement of the 1977 UN arms embargo against South Africa, including restrictions on the sale of dual use equipment.
- Push for imposition of a ban on all new loans by US business interests to the South African Government, and of severe limits on all new investments and loans to the private sector.
- Ban the sale or transfer of sophisticated computers and nuclear technology to South Africa and the importation of South African gold coins.
- Reimpose export controls put into effect during the Carter Administration and which were relaxed by the Reagan Administration.
- Withdraw landing rights to South African aircraft.

The draft document also lists steps the Democrats would take toward bringing self-determination to the people of SWA/Namibia.

These would include demanding compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 435, the six-year-old plan for SWA/Namibian independence, and imposing severe fines on US companies that violate UN Decree 1.

This decree prohibits foreign exploitation of mineral wealth until SWA/Namibia attains independence.

The document says the Democrats will "progressively increase effective sanctions against South Africa unless and until it grants independence to SWA/Namibia and abolishes its own abhorrent apartheid system."

It makes clear that human rights will be an important aspect of a Democratic Administration's foreign policy — just as it was under President Jimmy Carter.

This foreign policy would advance the human rights and freedoms that the US guarantees its own people.

It identifies them as freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of religion, and freedom from arbitrary harassment, imprisonment, torture, and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

"The Democratic Party believes that whether it is in response to totalitarianism in the Soviet Union or repression in Latin America and East Asia, to apartheid in South Africa or martial law in Poland, to terrorism in Libya or the reign of terror in Iran, the foreign policy of the US must be unmistakably on the side of those who love freedom," it says.

The draft document criticises President Reagan for "retreating" from the pursuit of human rights as an integral element in US foreign policy and accuses him of failing to confront dictators around the world and of closely identifying the US with the apartheid regime in South Africa.

## NEW FINANCE MINISTER FACES 'AWESOME TASK'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Jul 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by David Carte]

[Text]

WITH State spending set to soar because of the new constitution, youthful Mr Barend du Plessis, takes over many headaches from Owen Horwood as Minister of Finance.

Mr du Plessis inherits enormous economic problems, and these are bound to be complicated in the next few years as demands on the State purse rise sharply because of the new constitution. Now that they are part of the electorate, coloureds and Asians will want equal State benefits. With heightened expectations, the black community will also have to be better looked after.

**Devastated**

Mr Horwood's legacy is an economy devastated by the low gold price, drought and policies that have not been restrictive enough. In recent years, he allowed Government spending to run away (see tables).

Only a steeply rising gold price can save the economy from deeper recession and solve some of Mr du Plessis's grave problems. Mr du Ples-

**Barend tipped to follow Owen**

Business Times Reporter

The Minister of Education and Training, Barend du Plessis, has broken away from the pack in the Horwood-successor stakes.

acted as Minister of Finance when Mr Horwood was abroad recently. Is set to get the job.

Business Times headline on June 10

sis will have to learn toughness with his Cabinet colleagues. Initially, he will have to lean heavily on Gerhard de Kock, Joop de Loor and his advisers.

The trick, it seems, will be to cast the tax net wider to avoid strangling the private sector goose that lays golden eggs and then to spend less, more equitably, without losing too many white votes.

Achieving this with a low gold price will not be easy. It implies less government and an urgent drive to diversify the export base.

Mr Horwood joined the Cabinet when John Vorster was angling for English-speaking votes. He enjoyed much support from Mr Vorster in curbing free-spending ministers. Under P W Botha, it seems the portfolio became more political.

So Mr du Plessis will have to be an astute politician as well as tough. At least one eminent businessman was

approached to do the job, but turned it down because it was "too political".

Mr du Plessis is bright, affable and most important, is judged humble and willing to learn. Many businessmen are relieved he got the post ahead of Chris Heunis, who has done well in Constitutional Development but did not endear himself in Economic Affairs.

**Open**

Mr Horwood, the first South African Minister of Finance with economic qualifications, goes out to applause from the many friends he made with his charm, eloquence and bonhomie. Asso-com, the FCI, the AHI and many others have sung his praises.

To turn Mark Antony's words around: "The good that men do lives after them. The evil is oft interred with their bones."

INCREASE IN SPENDING BUDGET VS ACTUAL		
Fiscal Year	Budget	Actual
76/77	14.3	17.2
77/78	7.8	10.9
78/79	9.1	13.8
79/80	11.9	13.2
80/81	14.0	19.8
81/82	16.8	19.9
82/83	11.5	16.8
83/84	8.4	14.3
84/85	11.7	

PERCENTAGE GROWTH IN TOTAL REMUNERATION		
Fiscal Year	Gov	AR Employees +
76/77	16.4	15.8
77/78	9.6	10.6
78/79	12.9	11.4
79/80	22.8	16.4
80/81	27.3	20.2
81/82	35.5	23.6
82/83	25.5	18.9
83/84	18.7	13.9
84/85	22.5++	

+ Calendar Year  
++ Budget figure likely to be higher

On the credit side, Mr Horwood surrounded himself with good men, such as Dr de Kock and Dr de Loor, who brought in a more open, free-market approach to economic affairs, without which SA's problems may have been worse.

Mr Horwood took over Dr Diederichs' mantle as Mr Gold. His repetitive warnings in international forums about

the need for financial discipline turned out to be prophetic with most developing countries — but not South Africa — drowning in debt.

His consistent, conservative, almost Calvinistic, financial probity gave Mr Horwood enormous international stature. He was the best public relations man SA could have wished for. Mr du Plessis, fortunately, has a similar ability with people.

One must also bear in mind that Mr Horwood was at the helm in momentous times. There were two oil crises. Gold vacillated wildly. Agriculture failed the nation in its hour of need. Social change was going on and spending on education has rocketed.

## Brakes

In addition, we have been in a state of semi-war, requiring billions.

On the debit side, Mr Horwood's role as the new Mr Gold obliged him always to be positive about the metal, even when the economic fundamentals had turned against it. Nobody would

have minded had he had only talked gold upwards. Unfortunately in policy-making, he appeared also to believe it.

Mr Horwood, like Dr Diederichs, tended to apply the brakes and the accelerator too late and too hard. Instead of allowing liquidity out of SA in the great gold boom, he allowed it to build up excessively and the economy to overheat. We are still suffering from the hangover.

At the beginning, Mr Horwood avoided gambling on the gold price. He was so tight on overspending ministers that he was known as "Owen Cohen". Later, it appears, he either got tired, tried to maintain friendships, or was steam-rollered by Mr Botha's free-spending Cabinet.

As the two incriminating tables show, Mr Horwood has failed since 1976 to keep State spending within the Budget.

Even though Mr Botha promised a leaner public service, gross remuneration of State employees has outstripped that of the private sector every year since 1976.

# INDIAN COUNCIL LEADER QUILTS PEOPLE'S PARTY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Jul 84 p 10

[Text]

**DURBAN.** — The National Peoples' Party has been handed a devastating blow in the run-up to the house of Delegates elections by the resignation of the chairman of the South African Indian Council, Mr E V Mahommed, from the party.

Mr Mahommed, a well-known Pietermaritzburg civic and political leader, was one of the leading figures in the NPP and had already been named as the party's candidate in the Allandale constituency.

It is not certain what Mr Mahommed intends doing now he has resigned from the NPP, but he has indicated he will remain active in politics and it is rumoured he could join Solidarity.

In a telex sent yesterday to the leader of the NPP, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Mr Mahommed said he and some colleagues had formed the NPP when the Indian community had had to make a decision about taking part in the SAIC elections.

Now that the life of the SAIC had come to an

end, he felt the work of the NPP had been done and accordingly tendered his resignation.

Mr Mahommed said he wished to advise Mr Rajbansi that he would continue to play an active role in the political life of the Indian community.

The loss of Mr Mahommed is a severe setback for the NPP. The party could find itself struggling to win the important Pietermaritzburg seats of Allandale and Newholme where the former SAIC chairman holds considerable sway.

The NPP has announced its final seven candidates for the elections in Natal and they include the Natal leader of the party, Mr S V Naicker, and a multi-millionaire businessman, Mr A D Ismael.

They are: Mr Naicker (North Natal), Mr Ismael (Durban Bay), Mr T L Gouden (Camperdown), Mr A A Koobair (Reservoir Hills), Mr Chris Govender (Tongaat), Mr Nundkumar Rajaram (Cavendish), and Mr Samarod Pachai (Natal Midlands). — Sapa.

## ALGOA BAY DOCKYARD DELAYS FORESEEN

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 26 Jun 84 p 16

[Text]

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — It could be three years before work starts on the Algoa Bay dockyard, despite the R750 000 cash injection the scheme has received from Ciskei.

This is how long it may take for an environmental impact study to be done.

Ciskei's director of publicity, Mr Bill Livesey, says a Ciskei Government trust fund has put R750 000 into the dockyard project by buying 349 shares in the Algoa Bay Dockyard Development Company.

It is believed the deal includes an option for Ciskei to buy more shares worth R10m.

Before the Algoa Bay dockyard scheme can become a reality, an environmental impact study of the proposed site near Port Elizabeth will have to be undertaken, says Dr Harry Swart, head of the Sediment Dynamics Division of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research's National Research Institute of Oceanology.

The developers were informed about the need for such a study in April 1982, he says.

The project requires structural, physical and biological research. Collecting field data along the stretch of "high energy coastline" will take about a year and include observing and recording the power and direction of the waves, sand movement in the dunes, the physical structure of the land and seabed and the effect on flora, fauna and marine life.

A working scale model, the size of a rugby field, will have to be built. This could take a further six months.

A rough estimate of model is R200 000 to R300 000.

"You can't build sea walls unless you know what strain they will come up against. You are looking at a minimum of two years if the local data is already available and three if not," says Dr Swart.

The Herald's East London correspondent reports that in terms of the deal with Ciskei, the dockyard company will give preference to Ciskeian labour. Ciskei has undertaken to provide housing and a training centre for workers to be employed in the dockyard when it is established.

The dockyard, once operational, should employ about 4 000 people, mostly Ciskeians.

It should be able to handle large ships and is expected to be working to capacity two or three years after completion. "There is nothing like it in Africa," says Mr Livesey. "There are seven or eight major shareholders, including large South African companies and banks, but not necessarily South African banks."

He says the South African Government, which has seen the plans for the dockyard, has no objections to it.

Ciskei's involvement in the project was first announced by President Lennox Sebe in a policy speech in May.

He said at the time negotiations had reached the stage where, subject to the receipt of written ratification by the South African Government, a formal contract would be concluded.

President Sebe said funds would be provided from proceeds of the trust investment portfolio based on overseas finance.

## SURVEY SHOWS TRADERS OPTIMISTIC

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 5 Jul 84 p 8

[Article by Mike Jensen]

[Text]

A NATIONAL survey of companies in the retail and wholesale sector indicates that most respondents are confident of a growth in sales revenue this year.

But less than half the firms surveyed expect higher profits.

Most of the 100 companies questioned also believe further price increases are inevitable.

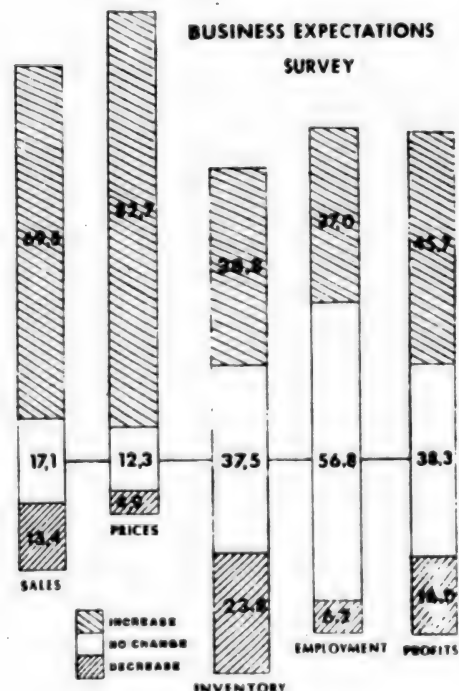
Of the firms polled by Dun & Bradstreet, almost 70% expected increased sales revenue in 1984 while only 13,4% predicted a decline.

A little over 45% expected higher profits, while 38,3% expected the bottom line to remain stable.

Over 82% forecast price increases this year while 12,3% expected prices to remain stable.

Dun & Bradstreet's general manager, Mr Graham Miller, said these figures showed that retailers and wholesalers were relying on the consumer's insensitivity to price rises to compensate for a lack of sales growth in real terms.

"The expectation of higher, or at least stable, profitability could be jeopardised by consumer resistance, unless they continue to use extended credit to maintain or increase spending."





Opinions of companies on inventory levels were mixed.

"Almost 39% expected to increase their inventories this year while 24% forecast a decrease.

"This indicates that many firms are increasing their inventories in anticipation of growth in real sales volumes in the near future," said Mr Miller.

"Significantly, employment levels were expected to remain unchanged this year by 56,8% of those surveyed.

"This could be regarded as evidence of a determination to control costs to prevent the erosion of higher profits."

However, Mr Miller pointed out it was encouraging that 37% of respondents expected to employ more staff this year.

CSO: 3400/2036

## CONCLUSIONS OF NATIONAL TRANSPORT POLICY STUDY REPORTED

### Consistent Transport Policies Needed

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 5 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by David Furlonger]

[Text]

**SOUTH AFRICA and the independent homelands must work out consistent transport policies and regulations if the region is to be developed to its full potential.**

That is the main conclusion of the second stage of the report by the National Transport Policy Study (NTPS), prepared on behalf of the National Transport Commission (NTC).

Final reports on the second and third stages were released yesterday at a seminar in Johannesburg.

The second stage, on legal and organisational aspects of transport, reaches four major conclusions.

It says the future of Southern Africa depends on the successful political and economic development of what it calls the SATBVC states — South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Political and socio-economic development is impossible without co-operation on matters of common concern, including the movement of goods and people.

Thus, the development of an international framework for achieving consistency in transport policy, uniformity in transport legislation and co-ordination in transport administration among the SATBVC states must be identified as a national level priority."

The second conclusion is that there must be further investigation into the NTC's constitution, object, functions and legal and organisational position in relation to other major administrative organisations under the Ministry of Transport Affairs.

Third, says the study, there is a dearth of meaningful statistics on the transport industry and market, as well as a lack of understanding of the principles and practices of regulatory and administrative law.

The study says it is impossible to promote further competition if the industry and regulations are not properly understood, and says the situation must be remedied before there can be any changes to the present legal and organisational framework.

The final conclusion is that there must be further investigation of a national merchant shipping policy.

It says there is no "coherent and deliberate" policy and states: "A continued lack of sophistication in such matters will be very costly in terms of trade, balance of payments and other national and international affairs."

The study examines the transport sector in the light of declared national goals and strategies, and points out that there may be a vast gulf between theory and practice.

It is wary of the eight national goals set out in the 1983 Constitution Act.

Seven relate to socio-political and socio-economic issues, including Christian values, freedom, law and order, human dignity and self-determination.

Only one — to further private initiative and effective competition — relates to practical economic issues.

"As might be expected," says the study, "certain dated methods of achieving the former are now frustrating attempts at achieving the latter."

The study says that while Southern African development is guided by the Co-ordinated Regional Development Strategy, which includes the Industrial Development and Development Bank Plans, incentives and regulations differ from region to region.

Plans of action and strategies described as national must become "supra-national", because they affect the political and economic development of all Southern African states.

"The participation of all the states in a process of consultation and consensus-building is a necessity."

In examining the question of competition in domestic road, rail, air and sea services, the document says Government intervention to

regulate competition is aimed at enhancing economic efficiency and achieving socio-political and socio-economic objectives.

South African Transport Services, although a commercial enterprise of the State, is actually an instrument of policy.

Because of its obligation to perform many uneconomic services, it requires "massive" cross-subsidisation.

Legislation such as the 1949 Air Services Act and 1977 Road Transportation Act are therefore necessary to safeguard legitimate economic interests.

It says the current regulatory system, including its economic preconditions, must be re-evaluated, regulatory options considered and decisions made and implemented.

### Government Policy 'Distorted, Inflationary'

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 5 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by David Furlonger]

[Text]

**GOVERNMENT's transport policies are inflationary, harmful to exports and discourage industrial decentralisation, says the National Transport Policy Study.**

The final report on stage three of the study, which examines financial aspects of transport, was released in Johannesburg yesterday.

It says the country's transport policies go against national economic policy.

"The conclusion is inescapably that transport policy as presently implemented is contrary to the widely-stated principles of national economic policy, which emphasises the beneficial role of competition and is, therefore, not in the best interest of the country."

The major finding of the study, compiled on behalf of the National Transport Commission, relates to the Government's extensive intervention in the transport market and its consequences.

It says this intervention takes two forms. The first is direct intervention in the operations of South African Transport Services (Sats) to achieve social economic goals such as regional development, subsidising passengers and promoting exports. An extensive system of cross-subsidisation is needed to finance it.

The second is the regulation of transport through a system of permits, licences and authorities, which impinges mainly on the private sector. The Government considers this regulation necessary to protect its investment in Sats.

"Combined, the two forms of intervention lead to considerable distortions and inequities in the total transport market," the report says.

The main victims of this distortion are manufactured products, exports and high-value goods carried over long distances. The cost of the service may be more than doubled by the "inflated" tariff structure, while raw materials and agricultural products are generally carried at or below cost.

Such distortions favour the location of industries close to main centres, which is contrary to the Government's regional development policy. Heavily subsidised passenger transport also discourages movement away from the large metropolitan areas.

The report adds: "The high cost of conveyance of manufactured products from inland centres to harbours also hampers the promotion of export of manufactured goods."

It complains of the harm being done to coastal shipping through high *ad valorem* wharfage charges, saying this has resulted "in the underdevelopment of this efficient and potentially transport code".

The report says the extensive transport regulatory system is imposing heavy costs on the economy.

Simply administering the system is a costly exercise, but more important is the inefficient use of labour and management time.

"It also results in reduced competition... which leads to the inefficient allocation of resources and is highly inflationary."

The report lists four conditions it says must be met if there is to be freer competition in areas where Sats operates.

Sats must be "relieved of its burden" of internal cross-subsidisation; differences in the level of cost recovery between road and rail must be eliminated; Sats must be given time to adapt its price structure closer to actual costs without disrupting the economy; Sats must be allowed greater freedom of

movement to follow market trends and accommodate market requirements.

The report adds: "It is also important to ensure that where decisions have to be made on an administrative basis (ie. in the financing of capital-intensive projects), these decisions be made . . . with economic efficiency as the goal."

While unhappy with Government intervention in transport generally, the report is particularly critical of the air transport sector, where it says market potential remains under-developed because of the in-built bias towards South African Airways.

Some operators complain that licensing controls increase total costs by up to 20%.

The report says private air carriers are unwilling to undertake capital investment and expand operations because they feel there is no guarantee they will be allowed to retain existing or open new routes.

In such a capital-intensive market, private carriers are therefore condemned to operate old, even outdated, aircraft. It is not worth their while to invest in new technology.

"In the end, the users and the operators, as well as the national interest, suffer the consequences," says the study.

CSO: 3400/2036

## CP BOOSTED BY PROVINCIAL BY-ELECTION RESULTS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 29 Jun 84 p 7

[Article by Anton Harber]

[Text]

**THE** Conservative Party, significantly boosted by both of yesterday's provincial by-election results, now believes that between 40 and 45 Parliamentary seats are within its grasp.

And Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the National Party, said yesterday that the NP would begin at once to determine the underlying reasons for the negative reaction to Government policy ... especially in the Northern Transvaal.

The unexpectedly large CP majority of 1 034 in Potgietersrus has shown that the party is even stronger than previously believed in its Northern Transvaal stronghold.

Observers had expected a close result, especially since the NP had thrown many resources and funds into the campaign in a bid to reverse the CP's growth in the Northern Transvaal.

The large majority has also shown that, with a combined ultra-Rightwing effort, a number of other Transvaal rural seats are within the grasp of the CP.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging fought alongside the CP in Potgietersrus, breaking important ground in their attempts to unite the ultra-Rightwing.

The result represents a significant swing to the ultra-Rightwing since the last election in Potgietersrus in 1981, when the NP won with a majority of 2 886 over a combined ultra-Rightwing vote.

It also appears to signify a further swing to the CP since last year's referendum, since the NP's own projection of the referendum results gave the "no" votes a majority in Potgietersrus of only about 100.

In Rosettenville, the NP held on to the seat with a comfortable majority of 1 797.

However, the CP's 2 405 votes indicated that it could command significant support even in a largely English-speaking, urban constituency.

Mr Ian Jayes of the New Republic Party ran a poor third, polling 1 302 votes.

The Rosettenville result could be even more significant than Potgietersrus, for it is the first time that the CP has tested its strength in an urban, largely English-speaking area.

Its unexpectedly good showing challenges the common assumption that its support is limited to the conservative Northern Transvaal.

This is particularly true since the CP began the campaign with only one member in the constituency and no party organisation.

While it is clear that the party still has a long way to go before it could hope to oust the NP in such a seat, it has shown it could mount a serious challenge in the long-term.

Mr Fanie Erasmus, national organiser of the CP, said afterwards that the result indicated that the CP could win 40 to 45 Parliamentary seats.

At present the CP holds 18 Parliamentary seats, but only two of these have been won since the CP broke away from the NP in 1982.

NRP leader Mr Vause Raw yesterday reacted to the results by saying that his party still had the right to exist and there was still a place in South Africa for minority parties.

The Rosettenville result had shown that a large percentage of voters had stayed away from the polls and that people were weary of intensive election campaigns, he said.

Mr de Klerk said the two results revealed contrasting patterns as far as urban and rural voters were concerned.

Rosettenville showed that support for the NP in the cities remained strong and that the CP was making no progress in urban constituencies, despite the prevailing economic climate.

The result, he said, showed that since 1981 the New Republic Party had lost so much ground that it no longer had a right to exist.

Mr De Klerk said that the Potgietersrus result showed a different trend. NP estimates had suggested that there would be a close result. The fact that the CP had won showed that once again there had been a significant "lie factor".

The result was disappointing, he said.

CSO: 3400/2036



SA TOURISTS PERMITTED TO TRAVEL TO BUDAPEST

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jun 84 p 4M

[Text]

**CAPE TOWN —** South Africans can now slip behind the Iron Curtain with relative ease by entering Hungary as tourists without visas, South African Airways has disclosed.

The two-day bus tours to the Hungarian capital of Budapest can be arranged at only 24 hours' notice with a travel agent in Vienna, says SAA.

These tours are organised by an Austrian travel agent and have nothing to do with the SAA.

An airways spokesman said all arrangements were conducted with the travel agent in Vienna and the South African tourist merely had to board the bus without coming into contact with Hungarian officials.

He said an official at the SA Transport Services had been on the trip with no difficulty.

The journey to Budapest can also be made

from Vienna by boat along the River Danube.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said the department was aware of the situation, although there had been no contact between South African and Hungarian authorities.

No other Iron Curtain country offered similar tours which South Africans could make use of, the spokesman added.

It is well known that a number of South Africans have visited communist bloc countries, but only after struggling to obtain visas.

To make the short trip to Hungary, all they need to do is approach the travel agent at least 24 hours before they wish to embark.

Between April and October there are three trips a week. In November and December there are two a week.

The trip includes a room at a good Budapest hotel.

## SOWETO COUNCIL REFUSES TO REPAY R250-M LOAN

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Jun 84 p 2M

[Article by Revelation Ntoula]

[Text]

**Relations are deteriorating between the Soweto City Council and its mother body, the West Rand Development Board (Wradebo).**

Yesterday the council emphatically repeated that it would not repay the R250 million loan from a consortium of overseas banks raised to finance the massive electrification scheme undertaken two years ago.

The Deputy Mayor, Mr Isaac Buthelezi, said the council hardly knew who the debtors were or when the contract for the loan was signed, and did not know the period for repaying the loan. This was not his council's business.

He rejected the assertion by the Wradebo chairman, Mr John Knoetze, that the cost of

the electrification was a contractual commitment the town council had inherited from the community council.

### STRIPPED

"If the creditors decide to issue summonses, these would have to be directed to Wradebo and not to us," said Mr Buthelezi. "We never asked Wrab or the community council to negotiate the loan. The mere fact that Wrab had earlier agreed to write off part of the debt was a clear admission of liability."

In another critical move at the weekend the Mayor, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, announced that his executive committee had decided at a special meeting to strip the Soweto township managers and superintendents of most of the powers they had inherited from Wrab.

These included authority to allocate houses and evict residents, order dawn raids by Wradebo policemen and increase rents.

In future, the announcement said, such powers would all be vested in the city council.

Mr Tshabalala also rescinded a decision by a Zola township superintendent to increase rents in the area by R5 a month. Such decisions, he said, were the city council's prerogative.

Zola residents should ignore the rent increase notice and pay the old rates.

The decision means the end of Wradebo's influence on the day to day running of the townships, especially that exercised through its seconded white staff.

Mr Knoetze was not available for comment.

## BANNING OF STEEL IMPORTS URGED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Jeremy Brooks]

[Text]

AN IMMEDIATE ban on imported steel products is needed to ensure the continued survival of the South African steel and engineering industry.

Dr Andreas Wassenaar, former chairman of Sanlam and a director of Gencor, the giant mining corporation, said in an interview with the Sunday Times that the industry was now in a crisis situation.

"Continued high rates of inflation over the past six years have hammered an industry which has to compete with our counterparts in countries like Germany, with an inflation rate nine percent below ours," he said.

"Until we admit that unrestrained and unproductive public spending has been the main cause of the present inflation rate we shall have as little success in dealing with it as we have had in the past."

A further increase of 7.5 percent in the controlled price of steel, announced this week, made the situation worse: The gap between the market price of steel overseas, and the domestic price in this country, had widened even further.

□□□

The Government was in effect compelling the industry, by making it pay the new

price of about R590 a ton, to subsidise the losses experienced by Iscor while dumping steel at about \$320 (about R492) a ton on overseas markets.

"Our costs of production have soared, while efficiency and productivity levels remain low," Dr Wassenaar said.

A staunch opponent of Government interference in commerce and trade, Dr Wassenaar is author of the controversial book "Assault on Free Enterprise".

Proposals that the rand be devalued to deal with the situation would ultimately be ineffective: "Our foreign competitors will then pay less for our steel, enabling them to undercut us even further."

South Africa's inability to counter a soaring inflation rate was driving many of her industries, and not only engineering, right out of the world market.

□□□

Her trading partners, who had succeeded in achieving this step, were now taking advantage of the situation.

"Other countries have seized the opportunity to, in effect, export their labour to South Africa because they cannot afford the high rate of

unemployment caused by the recession," he said.

"The question is whether South Africa can afford to tolerate the social consequence of a high unemployment rate inside her own borders."

"What is needed is an immediate ban on the steel product imports, in the same way that the importation of raw steel has been embargoed."

"If the Government is prepared to step in and protect Iscor, there is no reason why it should not do the same for the steel industry itself."

□□□

An embargo, as a solution to the present-day problem, should not be regarded as permanent, Dr Wassenaar said.

That would only come about once the 11 percent inflation rate had been lowered — a process expected to take a few years at least — and the embargo in itself would be inflationary, possibly extending the process even further.

"When we control the price of steel in this country, and when we place an embargo on the importation of raw steel from other countries, then we must also place an embargo on the import of steel products."

NEW AZASO LEADER BACKS STUDENT POWER

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 11 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

**STUDENTS will be able to have more power in their hands if they intensify the campaign to have student representative councils in their campuses, according to the newly elected president of Azaso, Mr Simphiwe Mgoduso.**

A first year B Iuris student at the University of Zululand, Mr Mgoduso (26), was elected at the end of Azaso's four-day congress held at Glyn Thomas Hall near Diepkloof on Sunday.

In an interview yesterday, he said one of his primary objectives is to uphold and even intensify the tempo of his organisation's growth and to heighten the level of awareness among the country's university students.

The shy and soft-spoken former Fort Hare student who was expelled with 2 000 others in August 1982, said attempts to have SRCs in university campuses should be seen as the

first step towards democratising education in South Africa.

Students would also have to set their eyes on university councils, in which they also need to have a representation.

The outgoing Azaso president, Mr Tiego Moseneke, said the weekend's congress asked the various campuses to analyse the class boycott strategy, which he said university authorities have learnt to render ineffective.

Students Play 'New Deal'

**POLITICAL parties preparing for the August 22 elections and already facing a serious threat of disruptions from Azapo and the UDF's affiliates, will soon have another problem to contend with — students.**

At its fourth annual national congress held in Soweto at the weekend, the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) took a resolution to

wage "an all out" national campaign against the elections and the new constitution.

Throughout the organisation's four day congress which was addressed by prominent leaders among them Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Ms Dorothy Nyembe and other community and trade union leaders, the "new deal" was highlighted as

"a fraud and a tool of diversion."

Speakers warned the coloured and Indian community to be careful not to fall into the trap of turning their backs against "fellow slaves" simply because the new Constitution promises them an honorary white status.

### **Pressurise**

The congress, one of the biggest ever held by a student organisation since the days of the South African Students Organisation (Saso),

was attended by 700 delegates from a total of 34 universities, technikons and colleges all over South Africa.

Since it was opened on Wednesday night, the congress went on for the next four days on an almost round-the-clock basis.

Azaso also resolved to consolidate its links with international student bodies to impress on them to pressurise their governments to step up the isolation campaign against South Africa.

Another resolution

said the theatre of the liberation struggle was inside South Africa and that the so-called peace initiatives taken by South Africa with foreign countries came nowhere near solving the country's problems.

Other issues on which the congress focused its attention were the crisis in black education, the Freedom Charter and the working class leadership, culture and ideology and the UDF's perspectives for the future.

Report by Sam Mabe of 61  
Commando Road, Industria  
West

CSO: 3400/2036

## TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF CONSCRIPTION ISSUE EXAMINED

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 22 Jun 84 p 12

[Article by Willem Steenkamp: "Two Ways of Defending the Country"]

[Text] THE heated current debate about conscription is dominated by two questions: Whether South Africa's defence should be based on conscription and whether the alternative of an all-volunteer regular force is a practical proposition.

The matter is too complex to be decided by a few strokes of a pen. If one is to discuss the abolition or retention of conscription, one must of necessity examine not only the principle involved but the practicality of implementing whatever decision is reached.

In principle there are various reasons why a good all-volunteer professional force is to be preferred over a largely conscript one. But one must ask if it is a viable proposition at this time.

While a strong case can be made for abolishing conscription, an equally strong one can be made for its retention — at least for the time being.

#### Motivation

In other words, there is no easy solution to be found, unless one wishes to run the risk of reducing the country to military impotence.

The case against conscription is based on the motivation, training and quality of service of a professional volunteer army.

Warfare is an increasingly complex affair, and ideally speaking it takes years to bring a modern soldier to his peak. This is why regular service personnel must work their way through a long series of training courses which does not come to an end till quite late in their careers.

The average Permanent Force infantry lieutenant, for example, is quite likely to have four years of academic and practical training behind him before he is assigned to an infantry battalion, and that is only the start.

#### Best in Africa

Obviously a national service officer cannot hope to match this level of expertise. The same remark applies to non-commissioned officers, who are rightly termed (in Kipling's famous phrase) "the backbone of the Army".

This is not to say that SADF conscripts are under-trained. Their training is lengthy and thorough, and certainly

the best in Africa. But it stands to reason that the product of a long-term maturing process is to be preferred.

An all-volunteer standing force would also mean the end of the conscientious objection problem which presently exists because a proportion of young men — albeit a small one — are unenthusiastic, to put it mildly, about some or other aspect of government policy and therefore take exception to being called up for military service.

The professional serviceman is a volunteer; for the most part he has joined because he likes the life, finds the work satisfying or is acquiring valuable skills (many SAAF pilots end up flying commercially, for example).

#### Training

He knows the risks involved and accepts them. Because of this he is happier and possibly more efficient than many conscripts, and there is also continuity because the "here today, gone tomorrow" factor does not apply.

Because of the changes in warfare,



there can no longer be any thought of two or three months' total national service, as was the case up to the 1960s. Nowadays basic training alone lasts for three months, after which a conscript usually receives up to several months more of advanced instruction.

Putative officers and NCOs spend a full year in training — three months' basic and nine months' leader training — before they receive their ranks.

Since the SADF must use its conscript manpower, the only way to get any return on this exhaustive process is to keep the servicemen on for a while after training them — which means a two-year period, or at a pinch 18 months.

### Expense

The result is that necessarily the national serviceman loses a large slice out of his civilian career life, which deprives both himself and the economy.

On the other hand, there are two main arguments which can be raised in the case for conscription: The expense of a large regular force and doubts about whether a large enough force could be recruited in the first place.

All-volunteer armed forces in relatively prosperous countries generally suffer from two problems: Attracting the right recruits and,

once their initial enlistment is up, retaining them.

In recessionary times all regular armed forces tend to attract more recruits, but this is a seasonal and therefore extraneous phenomenon.

In practice the only way to attract enough of the right recruits and then retain them is to provide them with a lifestyle which compares favourably with that of the civilian sector, in terms of pay or fringe benefits.

In terms of hard cash, therefore, it costs a tremendous amount to provide a suitable lifestyle — one European all-regular force is said to spend up to 45 percent of its annual budget on housing and other fringe benefits.

To maintain a full-sized regular force at today's levels — about 70 000 men and women — would probably cost a hefty R2 000 million a year in addition to the normal defence budget (R3,7 billion this year).

It might be said that once the border war winds down this money would be available. This is not necessarily so. Most observers agree the war absorbs a comparatively modest amount of defence spending, up to about R700 million a year.

This is not merely theory. The Permanent Force is already experiencing a serious shortage of leader group personnel, both commis-

sioned and non-commissioned, although conditions of service are better than they have ever been.

Nor is it a certainty that enough of the right kind of men or women can be recruited, even if the money was available. It is not enough to say that surely 70 000 recruits could be found among our total population; if they are unsuitable the process would be self-defeating.

Due to the inequalities of our various "ethnic" educational systems, there is a limited pool of suitable manpower available. The SADF would have to compete directly with

the private sector to attract the people it requires. Experience elsewhere has shown that this is unlikely to work.

### Inequalities

It is hard to see how the goal of an all-regular force, supplemented by a force of volunteer part-time service personnel, can even be considered till we have rooted out most of the inequalities which plague our country at present.

It is also a fact that the Citizen Force system provides the SADF with an incredibly rich reservoir of leadership, experience and various talents and skills which would be hard to replace in the short or medium term.

Defence planning is

essentially a long-term affair. Beyond a certain point a defence force cannot be pumped up and deflated like a balloon according to the mood of the moment without seriously damaging its capability. Defence planning is more like one of those supertankers which takes an inordinately long time to respond to a helm order because of its very size.

### Coup

I have heard another case made for the retention of the present system, namely that a small regular force is a good safeguard against a coup d'état.

It is true that classically speaking, a coup succeeds where the regular defence forces are either strong or constitute the country's only armed body. How important this factor is in the South African context is open to question. I have no evidence that we have ever been in danger of a coup and am not sure this should be a factor in deciding for or against conscription.

What I do believe is that South Africa must have a viable defence force, capable of dealing with any external threat. A strong case can be made in favour of a regular force, but till conditions allow it to come about, the practical considerations mean that conscription is not about to disappear.

GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF INGWAVUMA HIT

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 21 Jun 84 p 22

[Article by Bruce Cameron: "A Totally Hamhanded and Futile Exercise"]

[Text]

INGWAVUMA and KaNgwane would never have been ceded to the Swaziland without the agreement of the people, South Africa's fast talking and fast moving Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, claimed again this week.

In trying to play down the Government's part in yet another of the many divisive actions it has taken since it came to power in 1948.

But no matter how it attempts to coat the bitter medicine it is having to swallow, this time out the Government failed to ride roughshod over the people who stood in its path and had to surrender to public opinion — both black and white.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, who with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was

an important and persistent opponent of the Government's plans this week described the two-year saga as "a totally hamhanded and futile exercise that has caused considerable anxiety and friction and nurtured total mistrust of the Government by KwaZulu."

The history of the issue shows clear and repeated evidence on the part of the Government to mislead and to misinform the public as to its intentions and the actions it was taking, as well as performing incredible and dangerous acts of brinkmanship.

Whether this was done out of sheer ignorance or deliberate intention is not clear but if it had pushed ahead with its plans to cede the territories there is little doubt that the reaction of the Zulu people could have resulted in serious dis-

ruption and unrest with talk of Chief Buthelezi even leaving the country to lead opposition from outside the borders.

For Chief Buthelezi the Government backdown has been a clear and major victory.

No matter what Government spokesmen say about the "will of the people," when it announced the plan two years ago it was dished up as a virtual fait accompli.

It could not have made its intentions any clearer than when it took executive action to dismiss the KaNgwane Legislative Assembly and its executive and remove the control of Ingwavuma from the authority of KwaZulu.

When KwaZulu challenged the measures in court the Government fought the action to the Supreme Court before it finally

admitted defeat and handed back the control. As a result of the KwaZulu cases Ka-Ngwane's government was also re-instated.

The Government now makes great play of claiming good intentions by pointing to the appointment of the Rumpff Commission of Inquiry to investigate the issue.

But this Commission was not appointed until almost six months after the first official announcement and following enormous public pressure, particularly in Natal where blacks and whites united in opposing the plans as never before.

Opposition was even voiced at the normally obedient National Party Natal congress in August that year.

These actions definitely do not ring of intentions to allow the "will of the people" to take its course no matter how often the Government attempts to hide behind the shield of the accusation that the people were being "intimidated."

Government spokesman repeatedly refused to listen to the

elected leaders saying that they did not represent the true feelings of the people but this was in amazing contrast to the way that it announced that it would recognise only the South African Indian Council, which was elected with less than 10 percent support, as the voice of the Indian people.

It has been interesting watching the Departments of Co-operation and Development and Foreign Affairs attempt to get off the hook of taking the blame for what happened.

Mr Pik Botha's officials are quick to privately blame Dr Piet Koornhof for not informing them of the reaction of the Zulu's while Dr Koornhof's officials claim Foreign Affairs pushed ahead against their wishes.

Who was right and who was wrong does not really matter but Foreign Affairs continued to do its best to keep the issue as murky as possible.

Long before the Government announced its intentions publicly Chief Buthe-

lezi was claiming he had information of the possible deal — claims that were ambiguously denied by Foreign Affairs.

It has even repeatedly hedged at saying whether the issue was discussed at a last month's meeting with the Swazi Prime Minister in Cape Town, although it quite clearly dealt with the matter.

An example of misinformation has been the insistence by the Department of Foreign Affairs that the majority of the people in Ingwavuma are Swazis whereas every academic and all history books point to the opposite. In fact Mozambique would have a greater claim to parts of Ingwavuma than Swaziland if tribal roots were taken into account.

The cost of the exercise in financial terms with the court actions and the appointment of the ill-fated commission are not known but will run into many thousands but this will be nothing compared with how long it will take to repair the mistrust and ill-feeling that has been created.

## PRICE OF STEEL PRODUCTS UP

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Jun 84 p 2

[Text]

ALL steel products, excluding tinplate, will increase in price by 7,5 percent from July 2, the chairman of the SA Rolled Steel Producers' Co-ordinating Council, Mr F P Kotzee, announced yesterday.

The council represents the eight primary steel producers in the Republic.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, Mr Kotzee said the previous general steel price adjustment was on July 1 last year and amounted to 9,9 percent.

"A sustained productivity improvement during the past year enabled the local steel producers once again to limit the new adjustment to well below the rate of inflation, at present 11 percent," the statement said.

"The industry's benefits of improved productivity and accompanying

cost effectiveness have therefore been passed on to the steel consumer."

Tinplate prices are normally reviewed annually in April, the statement said, but this year Iscor — the only local manufacturer of tinplate — decided not to apply any increase. This decision was taken to assist the local canning industry "under the prevailing difficult conditions and in the wider economic field, to make a contribution towards combating inflation.

"The local steel industry has endeavoured for some years to improve productivity, which has led to steel price increases being kept low in relation to the general inflation rate.

"This is borne out by the fact that while the production price index rose to 185 from an index basis of 100 in 1979, the steel price index increased to only 166 over

the same period — including the latest adjustment."

Concerning recent criticism that local steel producers have been exporting steel products at prices lower than the fixed domestic prices, the statement said: "This is done to ensure the highest levels of capacity utilisation and employment, which also applies to suppliers of goods and services to the steel industry, as well as to earn foreign currency for the Republic (R650-million in the past 12 months).

"The lower return from such exports by SA producers is borne by the respective companies themselves and is not subsidised out of domestic selling prices.

"As in the case with steel producers in the Western world, the South African steel industry has to cope with poor market conditions and resultant unfavourable international prices." — Sapa.

APPROXIMATELY 3,000 CAR WORKERS ON STRIKE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 29 Jun 84 p 2

[Text]

**ABOUT 3 000 workers at three motor companies in Rosslyn, Pretoria yesterday went on strike over pay demands.**

Workers resolved at a report-back meeting held in Soshanguve on Wednesday night to down tools until management meet their demand of 75 cents across the board hourly increase. The affected companies are Nissan and its two sister companies Magnis Truck Corporation and Motorware (Pty) Ltd.

The striking workers said it was high time companies were made to realise that workers' income had to be considered each time costs of living went up. They said it did not mean authorities were unable to meet "a small amount we want." Black people always had to suffer before getting what is theirs.

"We are in fact tired of being graded into different sections when all of us are responsible for production. These are some of the deliberate actions by authorities to further divide us," they said.

A representative for the United African Motor and Allied Workers' Union, Mrs Dorah Nowatha, said management refused to listen to the workers' plight even after the union had come down to 45 cents across the board increase.

"We were told that even going as low as 20 cents would solve the problem," she said.

Mrs Nowatha said her union would continue negotiating to try and end the dispute.

CSO: 3400/2032

CISKEI CREATES CATCH-22 SITUATION FOR SA

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 25 Jun 84 p 8

[Article by Bruce Cameron: "Ciskei: Not Quite a Frankenstein but..."]

[Text]

**A SENIOR South African Government spokesman, bemoaning the erratic action of the Ciskei Government, was asked whether the country created by the South African Government could not be compared with Dr Frankenstein's monster. He replied: "I won't put it quite like that."**

**But he added at a background briefing: "I would be telling a lie if I didn't say it wasn't a big headache."**

**Ciskei is but one of four new countries South Africa has put on the map of the wall — albeit that they only appear on South African maps as new countries.**

And apart from Bophuthatswana all of them have reacted as unpredictably to a greater or lesser extent as did the monster created by Dr Frankenstein.

Ciskei, led by Chief Lennox Sebe who has been accused of being consistent only in the regularity with which he changes his mind, is proving to be the most problematical.

Ciskei shows the worst signs of nepotism, seems to be set on a huge spending spree and has resorted to enormous and what has been reported as indiscriminate repression to maintain power.

And whenever South Africa has attempted to intervene Ciskei has squealed loudly about interference in her internal affairs making accusations that the interference is based on white baasskap.



South Africa is caught in a Catch-22 situation. She cannot apply too much pressure as the outside world would claim justification for its accusations that the independent homelands were "puppet states" that have to dance to the tune of Pretoria.

At the same time the independent homelands are costing South Africa thousands of millions in aid of one sort or another. This places the Government in the position of coming under fire internally, particularly when there is an economic slump as there is now, for not doing something to curb excesses of the fledgling countries. The spokesman attempted in an almost paternalistic way to excuse the situation by saying that most of the countries of Africa had landed in a similar situation since indepen-

dence and he asked "why should ours be any different."

He admitted the situation was embarrassing and the best he could offer was to appeal to the Press to play down the statements of Chief Sebe.

"It is very difficult to handle Ciskei. President Sebe is a very difficult person to deal with. I don't think you should pay so much attention to him."

There is obvious reticence to use the big stick and withdraw financial support to Ciskei because of the unpredictable results although this method was used in Transkei to ensure better house-keeping.

The spokesman said he could not understand why Ciskei should object to South Africa wanting tighter controls and objecting to a R25-million international airport being built in the country.

After all the International Monetary Fund insisted on certain measures when it granted loans to South Africa.

One of the results of the erratic government which is causing South Africa particular concern is that international investment will be frightened off the now independent homelands.

South Africa is relying a great deal on international investment to prop up the countries, not only to ensure their survival but also to halt the drift of their citizens to so-called white South African cities.

The greater the human flood to the cities, the more difficult becomes the implementation of the policy of separate development.

And the final solution offered by the spokesman — there wasn't one. "We will have to accept it and live with it."

GERMAN STRIKES HIGHLIGHT SA INDUSTRY VULNERABILITY

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 28 Jun 84 p 7

[Article by Wendy Fraenkel]

[Text]

THE seven-week-long metal workers' strike in West Germany, which has directly led to General Motors in Port Elizabeth cutting work to a four-day week in their vehicle assembly plants as from June 30, shows how vulnerable the South African assembly manufacturers are.

This was the opinion of Mr Bill Hayward, director of the National Association of Automotive Components and Allied Manufacturers (Naacam), who was reacting to the report that about 2 000 workers in Port Elizabeth would be affected by the strike.

"If we could have more local content, especially steel items, in the production of our motor vehicles, instead of importing the amount we do, it would prevent problems like this hap-

pening in the future," he said.

"I would like to see 100% of our components manufactured in South Africa but realise that certain items, like carburettors and other parts, cannot be manufactured here."

He believed that if local industry could be fully supported, prices of vehicles could be held down, job losses could be reduced and in the short term there would be a greater job stability.

"I would also like to see the cutting down of the number of models made here — South Africa has far too many models. The Australian Government is re-examining the motor industry there and intend to reduce the number of models from 13 to six per manufacturer," he said.

A spokesman for the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa (Naamsa), said that on the other hand that increasing the local content would be "economic suicide".

"Our market in South Africa is far too small as it is to make the local manufacture of all components viable.

"Producing them all locally would prove very expensive and would be detrimental to inflation and would push up the price of motor vehicles," he said.

"We are also reliant on overseas research, development and technology in the motor industry and the South African industry reaps the benefit of this sophisticated technology which is both pioneered and applied there."

CSO: 3400/2036

PFP COMMITTEE INVESTIGATES URBANIZATION PROBLEMS

Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English 21 Jun 84 p 20

[Article by Bruce Cameron: "The Crux Issue of the Next 20 Years"]

[Text]

THE man who once housed African job-seekers in tents on his lawn believes urbanisation, particularly of blacks, will be "the crucial issue of the next 20 years."

Having been placed in charge of the PFP investigation on urbanisation, Mr Graham McIntosh, MP, sees his committee's task as not only to make recommendations that the party could adopt as policy but also to gain knowledge of the situation and to forge links with community leaders.

Mr McIntosh, who was a member of the United Party until it was dissolved in 1977, is no stranger to the uglier side of urbanisation.

In the Pinetown seat, which he won as a member of the UP, he was faced with the problems of squatters who had come to the greater Durban area to find work.

The Government had countered the squatter problem by declaring them illegal in the area and demolishing their shacks.

Mr McIntosh immediately countered by allowing them to live in tents on his property in the more exclusive Durban suburb of Kloof.

Since his re-election to Parliament he has continued to play an active role in putting his party's case in how it feels the problem of the movement of blacks to the urban areas should be handled.

He also serves on the standing PFP/Inkatha liaison committee which among other things deals with the problems of urbanisation.

Dr Slabbert has given the committee until August next year to make its recommendations.

To achieve this target Mr McIntosh said the committee would be hoping to rely on a lot of research already done by other bodies and academics such as the recent Carnegie investigation into poverty, the Surplus Peoples Project, the Buthelezi Commission, the Urban Foundation and the Institute of Race Relations.

The target of the investigation was not so much to find political solutions but rather to establish the socio-economic problems and their answers.

However the political problems could not be ignored and the committee would have to study influx control and measures to retain stability in the urbanisation process.

He was planning a number of regional conferences to which interested organisations and people would be invited. A questionnaire was also being compiled to establish aspirations and causes for the drift to the urban areas.

The results of the survey based on the questionnaires would be debated at the conferences.

The committee's final report would then be drawn up.

Mr McIntosh feels the work of the committee would make a substantial contribution to finding solutions.

He said the Government would not be able to treat the work of his committee with

the same disdain it had applied to the Carnegie investigation.

"The Carnegie investigation resulted in a number of reports that could not be taken further. We have a platform in Parliament and will force the Government to debate the issue and listen to us."

In any event Mr McIntosh felt the events would force the Government to give far more attention to the problem.

Another object would be to get ordinary members of the PFP more involved in the workings of the party in something that "is not only politically relevant but also very important" by having them assist.

PROFESSOR CLAIMS ACADEMICS UNDER-QUALIFIED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Ruth Golembo]

[Text]

**NEARLY** half the senior lecturers at South African universities are under-qualified.

This is the view of Professor Joubert Botha, head of the economics department at the University of the Witwatersrand, who blames low academic salaries for the "lamentable situation".

Only a 50 percent salary rise would improve the situation, he said.

This would bring academics in line with previous grading structures, when university professors were equated with under-secretaries of government departments.

In a recently published paper, "The Image of the Academic in South Africa", Professor Botha showed there had been a dramatic drop in the number of doctorates among senior lecturers at local universities.

"Senior lecturers represent the top structure of departments, whom one expects to be specialists in particular fields and who handle large sections of advanced and post-graduate courses," he said.

"We have a lamentable situation here. The average number of PhDs at senior lecturer level in our universities this year is a low 54,7 percent.

"This gives a rough indication of the true extent to which we have fallen short of the high standards we have for a long time battled to keep at our universities.

"And I am sorry to say we are doing the students a great disservice," he said.

Professor Botha said academics were very disappointed with the new deal proposed by the Government.

The main complaint was that they did not even know what they were getting.

"We cannot understand the unnecessary secrecy about the academic's salary situation.

"It should all be public knowledge — the taxpayers have a right to know what is happening to their money," said Professor Botha.

"We have heard figures like an 18 percent increase bandied about — but nothing is definite or clear yet."

Professor Botha said academics were not the kind of people who liked to come out in the open and strike or show their dissatisfaction in a spectacular way.

## Unsatisfactory

But many of his colleagues and other staff members were against the Government's new proposal of salary differentiation for university staff, he said.

He thought it was a most unsatisfactory method of determining individual salaries and promotion opportunities.

"Merit is a very difficult thing to assess objectively and if one runs short of true criteria to determine it, discriminatory factors like sex, race, politics and friendships tend to enter the assessment.

The existing situation where all staff were paid according to salary scales and promoted according to qualifications, research, the number of papers they had written and other criteria, seemed to be working well enough, he said.

"Throughout the country, at any university, lecturers are paid the same salaries. If one brings in salary differentiations one will encourage better paying universities to poach the best staff from other universities."

Professor A B Boshoff, of the Business Management School at Pretoria University, said he was deeply concerned about the future of South African universities.

"Not only are lecturers less qualified, but even those with formal degree qualifications are in most cases no longer the 'cream of the post-graduate crop'.

"There is no denying that the best are going into research positions in the private sector.

"One of the most disturbing facts is that this is the reverse of what is happening in overseas universities.

"In Britain and America the best qualified scholars remain at universities," he said.

Professor Boshoff said one had to see university problems in perspective and take into account the acute manpower shortage in South

Africa and the tendency to over promote and over pay white employees.

He said university salaries never could or should be comparable to that of the private sector, because there were incomparable advantages like inherent job satisfaction attached to a lecturing post at a university.

## Red tape

But, apart from the bad salary deal, lecturers at South African universities had to contend with huge bureaucratic stumbling blocks.

"Universities need more autonomy to be able to decide what courses they want to present without unnecessary red tape," he said.

Professor Boshoff said that although the proposed salary differentiation scheme gave universities more autonomy and was good in principle, he feared it might not work in practice.

"What we have to beware of is a situation where some professions are 'worth' more than others.

"For instance a professor of Greek or mathematics might not be able to earn as much in the private sector as a professor of engineering or accountancy and therefore might be paid less by universities," he said.

Professor Jannie Louw, head of the Greek department at Pretoria University, said the university system had "collapsed" and the situation was "drastic."

"In the past a doctorate was an absolute minimum requirement to become a senior lecturer. And then a number of good, recognised publications and study at a overseas university were expected of the lecturer.

"The standard is becoming worse and worse and the students are the ones who suffer."

CSO: 3400/2036



SA-TAIWAN TRADE TIES CONTINUE TO EXPAND

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Jun 84 p 14M

[Article by Stan Kennedy]

[Text]

The 1983 bilateral trade agreement between South Africa and the Republic of China had resulted in strong, commercial relations that were mutually advantageous to the two countries, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, told the annual meeting of the SA-ROC Chamber of Economic Relations in Johannesburg yesterday.

Delegates, at ministerial level, met almost every year to discuss ways of increasing co-operation at all levels, and covered areas of trade, communications, agriculture and fisheries, industry and mining and science and technology.

This growing interaction had an impact beyond commerce and trade, said Mr de Klerk.

There was a growing interaction on the personal level and more industrialists and key per-

sonnel from Taiwan were coming to South Africa.

He announced that as a result of representations made by the Chamber, his ministry had extended the residence period of key personnel from Taiwan from three to five years with effect from May 15 this year.

Another proposal that the number of key personnel and the period of residence be related to the amount invested in South Africa or the homelands was receiving his attention and a decision would be made soon.

He said the two countries shared a common goal — to promote trade and sound relations between the two countries.

"Let us continue to discuss ways to remove any stumbling blocks in the way towards that goal, within the framework of the realities which necessitate the application of certain policies," he said.

CSO: 3400/2036

## SHIPOWNERS PREPARE BUDGETS, FACE UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 22 Jun 84 p 8

[Excerpt]

SHIPOWNERS in South Africa and in many overseas offices have been closeted in their board rooms, preparing their annual budgets, against a background of imponderables afflicting nearly every facet of the shipping industry.

It is difficult determining how to spend limited funds when the various avenues are honeycombed by so many unpredictables.

- What would be the impact on sea trades if Middle East conflicts escalate?

- If there happens to be increased flow of cargo to South Africa, how much of it will be siphoned off by independents?

- How many more independent carriers must established trades expect?

- Can there ever be increased business for bulk carriers when so many new units flow from shipyards?

- Must South African shipowners expect more exports? If so, will the indigenous lines play as small a part as they have in the past?

The major South African shipping lines are working through the prognostications made 10 years ago when researchers assessed the size, type and number of ships the trades would carry.

In the result they have been found highly optimistic, and the shipping lines are having to utilise expanded fleets on substantially less traffic than had been predicted.

But how long will it take for the level of imports and exports to reach the figures predicted 10 years ago?

Insofar as Safmarine is concerned, it is scarcely likely that the new budget would provide for additional ships. Some of the older units may be disposed of

without replacement.

And it seems improbable that passenger-carrying facilities will be expanded. The infrastructure for just one liner, Astor, may be extremely expensive, but the clientele for sea voyages would hardly justify a second ship.

The second national carrier, Unicorn, has not seen any encouraging expansion of its foreign operations in recent times, but its short-sea hauls have provided consistent revenue and the five ships running along the South African seaboard have by appearances provided the bulk of the revenue.

Agreement with Safmarine enables Unicorn to trade elsewhere in the Indian and Atlantic oceans, but political considerations on the one hand, and economic hassles of some countries on the other, have combined to inhibit this traffic.

CISKEI ARMS FACTORY PRACTICALLY IDLE

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 22 Jun 84 p 17

[Article by Mike Chandler]

[Text]

EAST LONDON — Nearly a year after being formed, the Ciskei Armaments Corporation (Ciskor) at Dimbaza is still not selling enough firearms and ammunition to justify employing more than 20 people.

Ciskor, which is wholly owned by the Ciskei Government, was established to assemble pistols, rifles and shotguns from imported components in a R1million factory leased from the Ciskei People's Development Bank (CPDB).

The general manager of the factory, Mr Rolf Huttenrauch, confirmed that production was almost at a standstill.

Although planned to employ between 80 and 120 workers, Ciskor had only 20 people on its staff at present, Mr Huttenrauch said.

A Ciskor director, Mr George Botma, said from Pretoria that permission to sell Ciskor armaments in South Africa had been refused by the South African Police.

However, the chief deputy commissioner of the SAP's detective branch, General C. F. Zietsman, who is also in charge of the police firearms section, said he knew nothing about any application to sell Ciskor-made armaments in South Africa.

Gen Zietsman said he was also not aware that any armaments from Ciskor had been proofed by the South African Bureau of Standards (SABS).

He said before any application to sell arms in South Africa could be made, the arms had to be proofed by the SABS in order to control the quality standards of arms sold in the country.

The formation of Ciskor was announced by President Lennox Sebe in the Ciskei National Assembly on June 22 last year.

President Sebe said then that the existence of Ciskor had been kept "top secret" — to the ex-

tent that the announcement would surprise the South African ambassador who was present in the Assembly.

He said it had been formed after negotiations held in Israel and West Germany.

After the announcement, a South African Armscor spokesman said Armscor was "totally unaware" of the formation of Ciskor.

He said Armscor was not involved in any advisory capacity.

Spokesmen at both the Israeli and West German embassies said they were surprised and stressed that their respective governments were not involved in any way with Ciskor.

The chairman of Ciskor is Mr Ray Mali, a front-bench MP who is chairman of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party and general manager of the CPDB.

The other three directors are Dr H. C. Beukes,

Ciskei's Minister of Health, Mr W. Coetzee, described as a Johannesburg businessman, and Mr Botma, a Pretoria businessman.

Mr Botma told the Daily Dispatch this week that the corporation was wholly-owned by the Ciskei Government. No other company had a shareholding in Ciskor, he said.

The directors had been appointed by the government to help manage the company.

Mr Botma said the capital invested in Ciskor to date was R500 000, with additional machinery on order worth R1.8 million.

He said nearly R400 000 worth of arms and ammunition was sitting stockpiled at the Dimbaza factory because they could not be imported for sale in South Africa. He confirmed that the factory was almost at a

standstill because of the growing stockpile.

"I am confident we will overcome the problem soon. I think when the firearm laws in South Africa were originally put together, they didn't foresee the homelands situation and how independent national states would be affected."

Mr Botma added that if firearms dealers were not able to get permission to sell Ciskor arms in South Africa by the end of this month, legal representations would be made to the South African Minister of Justice.

However, the chairman of the South African Arms and Ammunition Dealers Association, Mr R. Price, said from Cape Town yesterday that the association was "not in favour" of Ciskei being used as a springboard to

launch imported arms onto the South African market.

"We as an association are against importing and distributing armaments in South Africa by using Ciskei as a springboard," he said.

Mr Price said as far as he knew, Ciskor did not manufacture armaments, but imported all the components and assembled the weapons.

"If it was a genuine manufacturing concern, and complied with all the necessary documentation, then we would have no argument, but it is not a genuine manufacturing concern."

Mr Botma confirmed that Ciskor did not manufacture components, but assembled components imported from overseas.

## DEFUSING CROSSROADS POWDERKEG ADVISED

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 30 Jun 84 p 11

[Article in the "Political Perspective" column by Andre Du Toit: "The Coming Crisis in Crossroads"]

[Text]

MAJOR conflicts cast their shadows well before them. We tend to be so preoccupied with more important things that these violent conflagrations seem to erupt out of nowhere: the first we know of them are the banner headlines on the front page. But, of course, that is never really the case. The danger signs were there, we just did not take sufficient notice.

Like now, with Crossroads. Already the alarm bells are ringing, if anyone would care to listen. We have come to take Crossroads for granted: the pictures of shanty dwellings and news items of raids by officials or faction fights are familiar fare. This high-density squatting settlement of some 50 000 people next to Cape Town's D F Malan international airport has become something of a local landmark, like Table Mountain. It is a major thorn in the flesh for the authorities, but so it has always been.

However, in recent months and weeks the pattern of confrontation over Crossroads has changed, and ominously so. The familiar pattern of news items is not telling quite the same old story. If we are paying attention it will soon become clear that a much sharper confrontation is in the offing: battle lines are being drawn, defences prepared and forces mobilized, fuses lit. The crunch may still be some time coming, but then it may be too late to do much about it. The time to reconsider is now.

#### Urbanization

What is at stake in Crossroads is, of course, nothing new: enforcement of influx control, segregated locations for blacks, resettlement of squatters — these are ancient themes of South African history. But Crossroads is something new in that history as well: it may well be the shape of things to come in South Africa during the next century.

It is a harbinger of the kind of massive and uncontrollable urbanization prevalent in the Third World which has already defied the authorities in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Crossroads sprang up virtually overnight during Easter weekend of 1975 in the wake of the demolition of the squatting camps at Modderdam and Unibell. Unlike its predecessors, and against all odds, it has survived and grown year by year. As such it is the most visible and symbolic manifestation of what is in fact a country-wide trend: close to nearly every major South African urban complex tens and hundreds of thousands of squatters are now living in similar conditions.

But Crossroads is also a special case. In other parts of South Africa the provisions of 99-year leaseholds and the presence of contiguous homeland territories exempted from influx control have allowed some measure of flexi-

bility in official policy in coping with the pressures of massive black urbanization.

The Western Cape is different. Here the government has insisted on the Coloured Labour Preference Area policy in an effort to deny Africans any hope of permanent domicile in this part of the country.

### No provision

It is an ideological policy, but its effects are very real. In terms of it no new housing — with the single exception of New Crossroads — has been provided at all for Africans since the end of the 1960s, while this is the one part of the country where the 99-year leasehold scheme does not apply.

The results are clear. There is no provision even for the natural population increase of the resident communities. And in spite of their best efforts, the authorities have not succeeded in turning around the continuing influx from the impoverished rural hinterlands of the Ciskei and the Transkei. In fact, many thousands of "illegals" have joined those already here. Hence Crossroads, and the backyard slums of Nyanga and Guguletu.

The last major confrontation on Crossroads was in 1979. At the Cape National Party congress of August 1978 the government had announced that in a Christian society the squalor of Crossroads could not be tolerated.

In the following months official raids were stepped up, special riot squads were called in to assist, there were shootings and stonings while churches and community organizations came to the aid of those left destitute.

For weeks on end Crossroads was on the front pages here and abroad. Diplomatic observers of Western countries monitored events closely while various parties and organizations tried to intervene and facilitate negotiations.

In April 1979 Dr Koornhof, then in the early days of his reputed new approach to black affairs, announced a partial reprieve of Crossroads and a "new deal" involving the New Crossroads housing scheme.

Since then there has been a virtual moratorium on Crossroads itself. The many raids against squatting settlements at KTC and elsewhere have apparently been aimed largely at confining squatting to Crossroads and so to preserve some sort of status quo.

But this did not mean that the government had ever accepted the reality of Crossroads. To do that would run square against the Colour Labour Preference Area policy; it would be tantamount to an admission that the aims of influx control in the Western Cape had broken down.

### Prime Minister

If there was any doubt about the government's intentions, it has been removed in the course of the past year.

Already in October 1982 it was reported that the New Crossroads housing scheme would not proceed. At the end of March 1983, following involvement of the Prime Minister himself, the government announced plans for a major new township, which would eventually provide housing for all Africans legally in the Western Cape, at Khayelitsha.

The first priority would be to provide accommodation for the "legal" inhabitants of Crossroads. Khayelitsha meant that the writing was on the wall for Crossroads.

At the Cape National Party congress in September 1983, Dr Morrison, the Deputy Minister of Co-operation, announced that Crossroads had to be destroyed as a "symbol of provocation and blackmail of the government".

It is believed that the cabinet has decided that Crossroads must be resettled in the course of 1984, though the timing is obviously subject to the progress of the Khayelitsha scheme.

And so the scene was set for renewed confrontation.

The Khayelitsha announcement, and especially the threat of resettlement also to the established townships of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga, sent shock waves through the entire African community in the Western Cape.

Government spokesmen hastened to give assurances that there was no question of forcible

removals. Still, the official freeze on any further building or development in these townships made it clear what kind of voluntary persuasion the authorities had in mind. Nor need there be any doubt on this score since the authoritative analysis of "The Myth of Voluntary Removals" recently published by Aninka Claassens — surely obligatory reading for any thinking South African.\*

Criticism of the Khayelitsha scheme mounted as more details became known.



The Surplus Peoples project of the Western Cape published a substantial booklet\*\*, giving full background details and urging community resistance to the proposed removals.

On June 2 it was reported that more than 12 000 Crossroads residents had signed a declaration that they will not be moved to Khayelitsha. This was in response to a campaign by the UDF in which 500 volunteers distributed pamphlets on Khayelitsha from door to door in Crossroads.

On June 6 Dean King of St George's Cathedral warned that the proposed removal was "totally explosive as well as being morally unacceptable".

### Provocation

Meanwhile white public opinion was also being prepared for action against Crossroads. Already at the end of April a senior health official of the Divisional Council warned that conditions in the squatter camp constituted a serious health hazard.

On May 7 Dr Morrison repeated in Parliament that Crossroads had become an intolerable symbol of provocation and anarchy in which all law and order had broken down.

The Burger published a series of articles on the unmanageable problem that Crossroads had become, explicitly based on information supplied by the authorities. The headlines and captions to the pictures

made the message clear: "Illegals in Crossroads lower living standards"; "Many want to leave Crossroads"; "There are people who want to persuade the blacks to resist removal to Khayelitsha."

And in the Argus Professor Jan Sadie, distinguished emeritus professor of economics of Stellenbosch University, wrote a thoughtful piece under the title: "Who gave Khayelitsha its bad name?"

Among the significant points made by Prof Sadie was that forcible relocation by the government often is a necessary and indeed inevitable means of social policy. It was inherent in the Slums Act, and the outcomes of such planned relocation of people were not dissimilar to the patterns of unenforced urban migration.

"In the final analysis," according to Prof Sadie, "the issue may appear to resolve in a very simple one: whether to maintain or to relinquish the standards of urban or concentrated living evolved in middle-class society over many decades."

In general terms this is an argument which will evidently carry considerable weight with many white South Africans. It is another question whether we are quite prepared for the consequences of the efforts to implement it in concrete ways.

On June 18 it was announced that tenders had been accepted for the first phase of devel-

opment at Khayelitsha.

On June 19 a large crowd marched in Nyanga to protest against the Khayelitsha scheme and the orders to have backyard shelters demolished. Police had to use rubber bullets and a sneeze machine to disperse the demonstration.

On June 20 three women and a three-year-old girl were injured by rubber bullets fired by police during a raid on the Nyanga bush squatter camp.

And this is only the early stages of the final Crossroads confrontation.

We had better be under no illusion that it will be possible to resettle these 50 000 people, with their history, quietly and orderly.

The Khayelitsha scheme, with its undoubted potential, may be wrecked and the international press publicity may well overshadow the Nkomati Accord and the Prime Minister's European tour.

Can a showdown of this kind still be avoided? We had better think again on how to defuse the coming confrontation. For Crossroads, time is quickly running out.

\*Aninka Claassens: "The myth of voluntary removals", Sash (May, 1984) Obtainable from the Black Sash offices 7 Long Street, Mowbray 7700.

\*\*"Khayelitsha: new home - old story", published by the Surplus Peoples Project, Western Cape, PO Box 187, Cape Town 8000.

(Andre du Toit is associate professor in the Department of Political Philosophy at Stellenbosch University.)

NRP OPPOSES REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS BILL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Jul 84 p 4

[Text]

LEGISLATION providing for White, Coloured and Indian local authorities to create joint bodies to supply community services would discriminate financially against the more prudent authorities, Mr Derrick Watterson (NRP, Umbilo) said yesterday.

Opposing the second reading of the Regional Services Councils Bill, he said that in terms of the measure, no compensation would be paid to local authorities taken over by the proposed joint-services councils.

Prudent local authorities which had charged higher rates to maintain liquidity would be discriminated against while those which had retained heavy capital debts would benefit, Mr Watterson said.

"It seems to me a clear injustice where ratepayers in one area who have made provision for posterity have their local authority taken over by others who have adopted the at-

titude of letting posterity take care of itself."

Mr Watterson said the NRP was not opposed to the concept of regional services councils but believed the Bill contained considerable inadequacies.

It provided for a new level of government while Provincial Councils still existed and would divest existing local authorities of their functions.

The Bill made no provision for specific sources of income for the proposed councils and it was not clear whether they would be able to take over the running of essential services, such as the Rand Water Board or the Umgeni Water board.

Mr Watterson said the NRP also objected to the fact that the chairman of a regional services council would be appointed and not elected. This could lead to conflict should he differ politically from the other councillors.

# UDF SPOKESMAN CLARIFIES GROUP'S OBJECTIVES

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 29 Jun 84 p 6

[Article in the "Opinion" column by Patrick Lekota, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front]

[Text]

THE successful launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) last August dramatically altered the balance of forces on the South African political scene and simultaneously ushered in a new period.

Since then, every party or organisation has found it imperative to define itself in relation to the UDF. This was especially so with pro-Government and new deal parties, homeland leaders and newly created black local authorities.

It was the State, with its immense resources of funds and manpower, that took the lead.

Even before the national launch, thousands of anonymous pamphlets were distributed in the cities of our country attempting to dissuade people from attending the launch, which was in Cape Town. But the national launch placed the UDF on an unassailable political position.

Hence, when it became clear that the UDF had become a permanent feature of the South African political scene, State propaganda switched to calling the UDF an ANC front.

It was calculated, on the one hand, that because the ANC is a banned organisation the fear of possible arrest would keep blacks from supporting struggle and thus be alienated from it.

As a matter of fact, the present ANC is a follow-up operation in this line. And yet nothing could be further from the truth.

Anti-UDF propaganda also exploited the public's lack of understanding of the nature of the UDF.

It was alleged that the UDF was based on the Freedom Charter; rightfully, the programme of the ANC. There was a deliberate attempt to ignore the declaration of the UDF, which is the basic document of the front.

The UDF is a front of varied organisations opposed to the new deal in particular and apartheid in general.

The connection between our affiliates is their opposition to the new constitution, black local authorities and black development boards acts, plus the now withdrawn Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill.

The operative section of the declaration reads as follows: "We pledge to come

together in the United Democratic Front and fight side by side against the Constitutional Proposals and Koornhof Bills."

But the UDF was formed in the 80s of a South Africa that is marked by more than 70 years of organised African resistance to colonialism under the leadership of the ANC.

Consequently, all the things which parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition groups are saying today against apartheid, oppression and exploitation have been said by the ANC before and quite often with more eloquence.

Furthermore, in her 48 years of legal existence there is not a single tactic or campaign the ANC did not try in order to persuade the Nationalists to meet black demands.

Even the non-racial approach was first embraced by the ANC when in 1955 she entered into alliance with the Congresses of other national groups, including the white group.

In this regard because the UDF is a non-racial Front embracing all South Africa's people, detractors of the liberation movement make political capital out of this historical context.

It is as if to say only members of the ANC can see beyond the superficialities of skin colour.

The fact is, because of her long history as the spearhead of resistance to oppression, the name of the ANC is written large and boldly across the face of South Africa.

Even the Prime Minister was confronted with strong demands for the release of Nelson Mandela and other prisoners by European heads of states during his recent tour.

What this proves is, that over the years, many people have come to regard the ANC as synonymous with the liberation of South Africa.

The Government itself is not innocent in this regard. Faced with the rising tide of resistance against apartheid and, in particular, opposition to the new deal as championed by the UDF, Government departments and state officials label us ANC.

It will seem that the ruling clique believes only the ANC is capable of effectively challenging the present Government for political power. Maybe they know better.

We of the UDF are bold to concede that we are not the only factor that will determine the final outcome of

the South African liberation struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic future.

We are aware that the activities of others, for example churches, trade unions, political parties and other groups — including liberation organisations like the ANC — amount to a simultaneous struggle against apartheid.

Various groups and organisations of South Africans, including the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale Parties, are rebelling against Government policies today.

Given the repugnant racial attitudes that are daily fanned by such parties as the HNP, CP, and NP — racial attitudes which threaten to generate a similar reaction in certain black circles — the UDF is the only forum within South Africa today in which all the people of our country can meet on the basis of equality, and mutual respect to discuss matters of common concern and take decisions.

The UDF is indeed, the future non-racial and democratic South Africa in embryo.

It is because of their uncompromising commitment to racial discrimination, even in the context of the New Constitution Act, that the Nats and their ilk

feel threatened by the UDF.

This front is opposed to the domination of blacks by whites. It is equally opposed to the domination of whites, including Afrikaners, by all blacks.

We realise that, over many centuries of interaction, the people of South Africa have shaped the landscape of the country into what it is today; they have built and cemented unbreakable social and cultural links of blood, history, language and customs; they have become an inseparable part of each other and of the landscape of our lovely land.

We claim this country for all of them.

We reject the New Constitution because it excluded the African majority, entrenches white monopoly of political power — even over the other two groups — and it does not materially change the life of the working masses wherever they may live.

We call for a national convention of all South Africans, an atmosphere free of racial suspicion and fear of harassment so that the people of our country may, through their acknowledged leaders hammer out a constitution based on the will of the people and therefore one acceptable to all.

BARCLAYS DECLARES SA IN STATE OF 'STAGFLATION'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Jul 84 p 20

[Text]

SOUTH Africa is in a state of 'stagflation' — low growth and high inflation — from which it is unlikely to recover until, and unless the inflation problem has been overcome, Barclays National Bank said.

The Bank's latest "business brief" said that private consumption, which has been buoyant until now, is likely to fall appreciably in the second half of the year and remain at a relatively low level into 1985.

"Given this outcome for consumption expenditure, economic activity as a whole is unlikely to show much of an advance during the course of the next year or so," it said.

South African inflation is currently running at 11 pct, well above that of most of its major trading partners.

The Bank said consumer spending has re-

mained high in the first half of the year as individuals dipped into savings and built up debt to buy goods in the face of high inflation and anticipated tax rises.

But it said this is likely to come to an end, following the recent rise in general sales tax to 10 from seven pct and an increase in interest rates on mortgages and other debts.

"It seems that a shortage of cash will finally force South African consumers to postpone further purchases of durable and semi-durable goods in particular and to cut down quite severely on contracting further debt," Barclays said.

Barclays also said that its test opinion survey, conducted towards the end of last month, showed a marked further deterioration in the general business mood.

The proportion of respondents saying they were pessimistic about

prospects rose to 53 pct from 40 pct in the previous quarterly survey. The remaining 47 pct said they were only reasonably optimistic.

Respondents listed a decline in orders, a fall-off in demand and the likely effects of the increase in sales tax as the main reasons for their pessimism and also complained about squeezed profit margins and the high cost of finance.

Although retailers reported better than expected second quarter figures, they were more cautious on the outlook for the third quarter. Only 18 pct expected improved sales, while of the rest, half expected a decline in sales and half thought things would be about the same.

Among manufacturers, only 12 pct said they expected any improvement, with 28 pct believing that conditions would deteriorate, Barclays added. —

LEADERSHIP IN NEW TRANSPORT TECHNOLOGY CLAIMED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 28 Jun 84 p 15

[Article by Mike Jensen]

[Text]

**SOUTH AFRICA has developed world leadership in a new transport technology which is set to replace conventional rail and road transport.**

The use of pipelines to "pump" commodities and even people across long distances is rapidly gaining acceptance.

The University of the Witwatersrand has become an international consultant in this field, the head of its School of Mechanical Engineering, Professor Roy Marcus, said yesterday at a talk held by the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies in Johannesburg.

The technique, known as freight pelining, promises much lower transport costs and is already becoming popular where the high-volume movement of toxic substances is producing expensive spills and an outcry from environmental groups.

"The use of pipelines has provided the user with total flexibility and decreased the number of people needed to operate the system, compared with conventional transport methods."

Furthermore, it is the only transport system not sensitive to inflation because, if properly designed, freight pipelines can survive unchanged after more than 25 years of operation.

Illustrating the high level of security the systems offer, Professor Marcus said a pipeline for moving millions in cash under the streets of Johannesburg was currently being examined.

While the technology had a long way to go before its full potential was realised, mining companies had led the way in much of its development.

Gold Fields has the longest slurry pipeline at the moment — 1 800m — but JCI is about to install a 3 000m system.

"In conjunction with Anglo American's research facility in Welkom we have been able to transport pieces of quartz up to 80mm in diameter under air pressure," said Professor Marcus.

This had been developed for pneumatic backfilling of worked-out mine areas. Initial trials at the President Steyn shaft number four had shown that the backfilling could achieve compaction densities of 80% of the original virgin rock.

Orders had been placed for a coal offloading system at Richards Bay and a pipeline for carrying the highly toxic arsenic tri-oxide had been installed at Tsumeb.

"We are now looking at the long distance transport of coal, which could replace the planned second rail-line to Richards Bay."



In the US a 2200km coal slurry pipeline had been installed, despite resistance from the railway companies which were threatened by the far cheaper cost of freight pipelines.

Studies had been done showing that it was cheaper to transport coal, either as liquid, slurry or gas in a pipeline to its site of use for electricity generation than it was to transmit the electricity itself over the same distance, said Professor Marcus.

Looking ahead to the development of multiple use, or capsule pipelines, he said that a 1m pipeline running from Johannesburg to Pretoria could replace 90% of the road transport between the two cities using only one

megawatt — a tiny fraction of current energy costs.

"The next step is a people pipeline, which I believe will affect us all in the future."

There was also the possibility of having pipelines to every house to bring in goods ordered over the telephone and to remove wastes to recycling centres.

"The economics of this look very good and we are having talks with the Government on a pipeline for one of the new towns."

With South Africa's expertise in the field, Professor Marcus predicted that the first commercial capsule system would be installed in by 1986.

CSO: 3400/2036

# ESCOM HURT BY RECESSION

Johannesburg SA INDUSTRIAL WEEK in English 26 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by Simon Cashmore]

[Text]

**ESCOM has been plunged into a serious financial predicament by the harsh, unyielding recession.**

Harold Egenes, principal officer at Escom's environment impact control group, points out that the commission is having to meet loan charges for plant it bought before the economic slump while at the same time earning a much lower tariff income than it had anticipated.

Speaking at an air pollution symposium at Megawatt Park, he said that the recession had drastically delayed the need for new power stations.

"Plans made now will relate to plant to be paid for at some future date and this payment may or may not be due before the economy recovers.

"The cost of pollution control equipment is not insignificant. Equipment related to particulate control at a 3 600MW power station, cost about R100-million, or 4% of the cost of the power

station," Egenes said.

He argued that if tighter pollution control laws increased this cost to 5%, then an extra R30-million would have to be found for every new power station and an extra R5-million would have to be extracted from consumers each year.

"In the present economic climate it may be possible to negotiate some relaxation in emission standards.

"The atmosphere, however, in becoming more polluted is not aware of the state of the recession and if standards are lowered now this will have to be put right at a later date."

This would be very expensive because emission standards may be even more stringent in the future.

"Escom will be required to double its generating capacity within the next 10 years and most of these new power stations

will have to be built in the Eastern Transvaal.

"If the pollution levels are not controlled then problems associated with future power stations could well be insoluble."

The recession had also had a positive effect, however. It had provided time to assess new technologies regarding (their) application to new plant and the upgrading of existing plant.

"An excellent example of how research can pay off is that some years ago it was considered necessary to construct stacks to a height of 300m to achieve adequate pollutant dispersion.

"Research, in co-operation with the CSIR, revealed that this was not necessary and in most instances chimneys of 250m are adequate.

"The resulting savings of R2-million a power station has paid for the research costs many times over.

# CHURCH PREPARES TO LOCK HORNS OVER REMOVALS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Jul 84 p 8

[Article by Jeanette Minne]

[Text]

**A RESOLUTION** adopted unanimously by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) could herald a new full-scale confrontation between the Church and the State.

The resolution on forced population removals amounts to the church saying that it will confront the bulldozers.

At its national week-long "post-Eloff" conference held in Johannesburg last week, the SACC — in keeping with its conference theme of "the God of the Poor" — unanimously accepted a series of resolutions condemning forced removals and calling for church action.

The most significant of these, tabled by the Church Leaders' meeting, was referred to the SACC's Division of Justice and reconciliation for implementation and action.

The resolution called for the countrywide mobilisation of Christians and supporters under church leadership to gather at places where a community is threatened to show "sympathy, solidarity and support, and, if possible, through presence, prayer and protest to prevent the removal".

The resolution recognised that such an effort would require a good information service, operational structures for decision-making and clear lines of communication, guidelines for leaders and participants and preparatory communication with threatened communities to build trust and confidence and to create a "Christian context and atmosphere".

A report tabled by the SACC's Division of Justice and Relocation told the churches they and their members were to be held responsible for making known what happened to people who were relocated, what their experiences were and how they were suffering.

"At the time of the Nazi regime many thousands of Christians were not made aware of the extermination of the Jews that happened in the concentration camps," the report said.

The emphasis on forced removals was highlighted early on in the conference and assumed particular significance during the opening ceremony when during the religious service the delegates pledged aloud to resist such removals.

"We call on Christians and people of good will to

join us in this. This is the way we must show Christ's love to those who have been dumped and abandoned," the delegates chanted.

The SACC resolutions on forced removals comes in the wake of a joint report on relocations by the SACC and the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) which has likened the Government's policy of relocating people to the "final solution" of the Nazi era.

A delegation of the SACC and the SACBC earlier this year met with high ranking church and government officials during a tour to the United States, Great Britain, Sweden, West Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the Vatican reporting on relocations in South Africa where the Nazi/South Africa analogy was strongly reiterated.

During the SACC conference last week at St Barnabas College in the coloured township of Bosmont, forced population removals emerged as a major area of concern to the Church and a report on the activities of the overseas delegation of the SACC and SACBC was tabled at the conference.

The report quotes a section of an address last year by former SACC President

and now an honorary life vice-president of the SACC, the Reverend Peter Storey, in which he explains the analogy between the genocide option of Nazi Germany and the policy of relocations in South Africa.

Mr Storey, who is also the president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, said Hitler's motive in wanting to get rid of unwanted people also applied to South Africa: "To 'purify' the nation or to ensure a white South Africa — what is the difference?"

And referring to the scale of Hitler's crime — the elimination of 6-million Jews — he said: "South Africa is almost halfway there. Three and a half million already disposed of by resettlement and another 2-million to go — half a million short of Hitler's total".

The report says that over 20 years 3-million people had been moved purely on the basis of race and that "the extent of their suffering was horrific".

It also points out that although the analogies between South Africa and Nazi Germany "are not total in their correctness, there is a definite attempt

to eliminate from citizenship 70% of the population regardless of cost in human terms".

Mr Storey points out that, although in South Africa people are not killed, their torrid existence in "homelands" to where they are forcibly moved, where they face starvation, disease and severely limited job opportunities, amounts to death in life.

Earlier in the SACC conference Professor Francis Wilson, director of the Southern Africa Labour and Research Unit at the University of Cape Town, said in an example on removals that in 1960 the homeland of Qwa-Qwa had a population of about 20 000 — already more people than it could cater for.

Now it has a population estimated between 300 000 and 500 000.

The SACC and the SACBC have jointly published 10 000 copies of the "Churches Report on Relocations" which has already been distributed through various church offices.

The SACC conference also adopted a resolution

appealing to its members to observe Friday, August 24 as "a day of prayer and fasting remembering the plight of the people in relocated areas".

It also called on churches and other organisations to organise united services on Sunday August 26 to highlight relocations.

Apart from relocations, other key resolutions passed by the conference focused on the war in South West Africa/Namibia.

These resolutions called for:

- The speedy withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the immediate implementation of United Nations resolution 435;
- Persevering in renegotiating the status of military chaplains with the South African Defence Force with a view to relieving them of the symbols of military status, rank and uniform and to bring them under church authority;
- An end to forced military conscription and requested the SACC's Division of Justice and Reconciliation to study the ethical, theological and economic aspects of the use of taxation for military purposes.

## DROUGHT FORCES FARMERS TO SELL STOCK

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Jul 84 p 17

[Article by Jeremy Brooks]

[Text]

**THE drought is causing a massive glut of meat on the South African market.**

Farmers, unable to maintain their herds through cashflow problems or a shortage of winter feed, are sending their cattle to abattoirs.

Latest estimates indicate that there are 8.2-million head of cattle left in the Republic — the lowest figure in decades. Sheep have also declined by about 1.6-million head in one year.

Sources in the meat industry have predicted, despite rumours to the contrary, that floor prices for beef, and possibly mutton and lamb, will soon be lowered.

However, while the man in the street may have a bonanza this month as prices fall and the 7 percent GST exemption comes into operation, it will be shortlived.

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As soon as spring rains begin to fall, possibly in August, deliveries to abattoirs will be cut to the bare minimum.

"The beef farmer is desperate — many of his breeding herds have been slaughtered because he cannot afford to feed them. The moment the first rains fall he will try to recoup on his losses and rebuild his stock," said one observer.

"You can expect supplies to the abattoir to show a dramatic de-

crease."

Another indication of the alarming depletion in the country's stock resources is that orders for winter feed have dropped suddenly and dramatically.

The South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) has under its umbrella a body which organises supplies of winter fodder and roughage around the Republic — Feed Central.

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Last year Feed Central took orders for 17 000 tons of roughage. This year so far only about 20 orders for 300 tons have been received.

"I don't really know what's happening," said a spokesman.

"Either farmers have no money, or they have no cattle to feed."

The Meat Board, which is required to buy up carcasses on the open market if they cannot fetch the floor price during auction, now has in excess of 150 000 carcasses in storage — sufficient for about five weeks' consumption.

Most of these will be entirely deboned, packed into 25kg cartons, and sold to the retail trade at vastly reduced prices as "trimmings".

The meat, although top-grade, is rejected by the market simply because of "carcass-chasing", a consumer preference for smaller and more easily manageable carcasses.

Mr Koos Blignaut, public relations officer for the Meat Board, commented: "We have a very difficult problem, but we're coping."

"Our situation is chickenfeed compared to that in Australia, which does not have a marketing organisation like ours. The Federal Government has had to slaughter thousands of sheep and cattle and destroy the carcasses."

Mr Blignaut said the Meat Board could only accommodate a third of the quota applications which it was currently receiving.

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"We have a fairly restricted market. Our export potential, although it does exist, is limited, while demand remains fairly static."

The Meat Board was particularly concerned over rumours of an impending rise in the floor price, and was quick to scotch them in a Press release earlier this week from the chairman, Mr P R du Toit.

Mr du Toit also warned against a sudden rush by the public to stockpile their freezers as soon as GST was lifted.

A rush to buy would create an artificial high demand, lasting only a few weeks. Prices would immediately rise and the man in the street could be worse off than before.

# GOVERNMENT'S NEW-STYLE APARTHEID TECHNIQUE SCORED

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 27 Jun 84 p 12

[Article by Jean Le May: "New Strategy To Keep Black from Coloured"]

[Text]

THE Government has developed new techniques to carry out sweeping plans to separate blacks and coloureds in Free State towns.

The attempt to impose a rigid new colour bar between black and coloured people is in line with the new constitutional dispensation which depends for its success on rigid racial separation of voters.

The separation, involving hundreds of thousands of people, is being carried out by the departments of Community Development and Co-operation and Development, acting in tandem.

This is how the Government's new-style apartheid formula works:

The first move is made by the Department of Community Development. In terms of its powers under the Group Areas Act, it can declare any existing black area a coloured area.

Then it is the turn of the Department of Co-operation and Development to step in by removing the

blacks concerned to other areas — mostly to homelands.

They then fall under the jurisdiction of the homelands governments — all of it fitting neatly into place in terms of the new constitution.

Many coloureds in the Free State are in a Catch-22 situation. They are told they cannot have facilities they ask for, such as improvements to schools and houses, unless the areas concerned are declared coloured group areas. And that can only be achieved by moving blacks out of the areas.

That means a further conflict for coloureds. All their political parties officially repudiate apartheid and the Group Areas Act which, with race classification, is the main instrument of apartheid.

It is understood that 13 towns in the Free State, including Bethulie, are affected by the plan, although Mr Pen Kotze, the Minister of Community Development, has referred in Parliament to only eight.

They are Luckhoff, Philipolis, Springfontein, Edenburg, Trompsburg, Jacobsdal, Rouxville and Smithfield.

The new plan has become apparent from replies given in Parliament recently, by Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, and Mr Kotze.

Dr Koornhof, asked by Mr Nic Olivier of the Progressive Federal Party whether steps were being taken to separate black and coloured people in towns to the Free State, replied: "No, not by the Department of Co-operation and Development."

But Mr Kotze, asked the same question earlier this month, replied: "Yes."

He added it was Government policy to afford each population group an opportunity to be established as a fully-fledged community.

Asked whether the Department of Co-operation and Development was taking any steps to remove black and coloured people in Bethulie, Dr Koornhof said:

"I know that the honourable Member is referring to that issue. That is why I replied as I did. The department to which further questions should be addressed is not in this instance the Department of Co-operation and Development, but the Department of Community Development."

The deviousness of the plan is apparent from another reply given by Mr Kotze, who was then asked by Mr Olivier whether his department was taking any steps to separate black and coloured people living in Bethulie.

Mr Kotze replied: "No".

Asked about the apparent contradiction of the reply Mr Kotze gave a week earlier, the liaison officer of the department, Mr A Fuchs, said: "We are not separating any people in Bethulie — all we are doing is building houses and improving facilities for coloureds there."

Mr Fuchs said the black township in Bethulie was to be declared a coloured group area shortly.



## Let People Live Where They Like, Says Hendrickse

REACTING to the Government's new-style apartheid technique to separate blacks and coloureds, the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said the party was implacably opposed to removals in any form.

"Our policy holds to the right of the individual to live where he chooses," he said.

"We have never asked for blacks to be removed from any town in the Free State so that we can live in it ourselves.

"Coloured people feel very bitter about being turned out of former coloured areas which have been declared black, as was done in Protea near Soweto and is happening in Stockenström in the Eastern Cape, because of the close relationships which have developed.

"The communities are inextricably entangled and any separating will take place only at the cost of great pain and heartache.

"In many cases there are blood ties — there have been many inter-marriages.

"We regard both the Group Areas Act and Race Classification Act as wicked and immoral, and we intend to fight for their abolition.

"We are not taking part in the election in support of the constitution, but in order to dismantle apartheid.

"An attempt is being made to force people apart artificially, to drive a wedge between black and coloured, and this is all in the interests of the grand apartheid plan."

Mr Philip Sanders, former Speaker in the Coloured Representative Council and Free State chairman of the Labour Party, admitted he had written to a local newspaper saying that facilities for coloureds in Bethulie were so deplorable because the Government had not declared a coloured group area there.

Mr Sanders said, however, that that must not be interpreted as a request for a coloured group area.

He denied he supported Bethulie being rezoned for coloureds at the expense of blacks.

CSO: 3400/2036

COMPLEXITY OF POWER-SHARING PROCESS ADDRESSED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Jul 84 p 29

[Article by Willie Esterhuyse, Professor of philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch: "It's No Longer IF We Share Power, It's When and How"]

[Text]

**ONLY** a cynic can argue that a process of change has yet to surface in our country.

A balance sheet refreshing our all too short memories will provide ample proof of a process of change that should be constructively stimulated and not ridiculed.

First of all, South Africa is in the grip of a process of desegregation.

This is particularly evident in the area of social interaction. A decade ago "racial separation", vertically applied, was the slogan of the day.

There were separate entrances, racially classified beaches and benches, "closed" hotels, churches and restaurants, "white" public parks, jobs and lifts, racially reserved cultural amenities and sports fields, and even hatchways in walls of cafes.

Gross violations of the dignity of people other than white did not stir the white public's conscience.

Then discriminatory signs and dividing walls started to disappear.

Some hotels and public amenities received a desegregated status. A permit system was introduced. Although in some instances it added insult to injury, it also created exceptions to the rule, facilitating a situation in which the exceptions could become the rule.

Sport played an important role in this process of desegregation. It started rather painfully — like a

human body contracting in severe spasms. On the rhetorical level it was justified by jaw-breaking phrases.

It spilled over from "international" to national and club levels. From a position of "never ever" we have reached a stage where we are trying to depoliticise sport. Even Springbok rugby colours, the "holy of holies", became desegregated.

The most important facet of the process of social desegregation is the fact that it stimulated a more sensitive conscience on racial matters among whites.

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## Encouraging attitude

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Some people argue that the process of social desegregation amounts to an attempt to give apartheid a human face. The fact of the matter is that an encouraging attitude towards racial interaction has emerged in South Africa.

Moreover, a social force has surfaced which has swept aside many a traditional prejudice and perception. And social forces do eventually have an impact on the general structures of society.

A second process at work in South Africa, and as such not divorced from the first, can be termed the process of structural accommodation and association.

Institutional exclusivity based on racial criteria, and in consequence institutionalised racial discrimination, presents one of the most severe injustices in South Africa, for it deprives people classified as "non-white" of basic human rights.

This state of affairs is not related to the issue of political rights only. It includes economic, social and other issues. In the not too distant past, prevailing government policy was used as a shield to hide prejudice, exploitation and hypocrisy.

Now the ideologically misconceived idea of separation for the sake of separation has in many instances been discarded.

In this respect developments in the economic field and area of labour relations need special mention.

During the heyday of apartheid it was envisaged that South Africa would eventually end up with ethnically and racially separated economic activities. Exponents of apartheid ideology regarded the integrating forces of an industrialised economy as one of the main threats against apartheid.

Stringent measures were taken to put into practice what was preached — from job reservation to the removal of businessmen other than white from central business areas.

## Economic realism

Economic activity was to be brought in line with the segregating goals of apartheid. The result was that those at the receiving end of separate development perceived the policy as a strategy to separate them from their development!

In recent years an important change took place. It was accepted that South Africa had an intereconomy, albeit of a dualistic structure.

Concepts like "interdependence" cropped up to absorb the shocks that were created in some apartheid circles. More recently the idea of decentralisation emerged — without the ideological wrappings of the past and viewed as a necessary strategy to stimulate development.

Economic realism, and not ideology, became a yardstick of policy.

In practice this change in policy perception was complemented by a silent revolution, the upward movement of people other than white in industry, commerce, and retail trade.

From the storerooms of shops, the workshop floor, they are slowly but surely moving to positions of cashiers, shop assistants, clerks, managers and directors.

Desegregating and restructuring processes at work on the economic level must inevitably have political side-effects. Anyone believing that a middle class, economically active and professionally trained, but deprived of some fundamental social and political rights, will remain satisfied with their position, is living in a fool's paradise.

On the institutional level, a major step was also taken in the restructuring of South Africa's parliamentary system and an accommodation of coloureds and Asians in the political system.

The envisaged constitutional dispensation desegregates decision-making in the sense that political decisions, especially as far as common interests are concerned, will in future not be "all-white" affairs.

Whatever critics might say, the new constitution represents a breakthrough in the direction of associative political patterns. It is feasible that the same trend in the direction of political accommodation and associative patterns will manifest itself as far as the political rights of blacks are concerned.

The process of structural accommodation and association has already gathered a momentum that cannot be terminated at this stage but only steered in a certain direction.

To put it bluntly: the issue is no longer the sharing of joint responsibility and power, but in what structure, on which conditions, and how.

It is my personal opinion that the process of structural accommodation and association, as far as traditionally underprivileged groups are concerned, has reached a stage where a reversal of trends seems impossible.

A third process that should be mentioned is that of statutory change. Admittedly, this is still in its initial stages. Undoubtedly, the statutory level provides one of the most difficult areas of reform.

Segregating measures with a racially discriminatory content constitute a closely knitted spider's web. To interfere with this web and to bring about changes without jeopardising stability or strengthening the rightwing backlash, not only demands political courage but special tactical skills.

## More than mere politics

It is quite easy to proclaim what should be done. How it should be done is altogether a different story. Unfortunately we have too many people of the first category and too few of the second.

Given the nature of our statutory inheritance, what has so far been achieved should not be minimised. Our statute book underwent some important changes to make provision for the desegregating and associative processes that have emerged in certain sub-systems of our society — in sport, labour and cultural amenities.

To regard these changes as farcical or "sham reform", is to completely misunderstand the process of reform, especially as far as South Africa is concerned.

Some critics of South African society seem to be mesmerised by the issue of political rights — as if the granting of political rights only will pave the way to human salvation.

The fact of the matter is that reforming South African society implies a multifaceted approach, skilfully engineered tactics of reform, and above all a foundational framework that exceeds the mere political arena.

In this respect certain statutory changes should be welcomed. Besides those affecting sport, labour and amenities, the new deal in respect of ownership rights for urban blacks, albeit not ideal, was a huge step ahead.

It recognised in principle the fact that urban blacks were here to stay and should not, as was perceived some years ago, be regarded as temporary sojourners.

And the change in the measures regulating student intake by universities, allowing universities to

reflect the plural composition of our society, was equally an improvement on the traditional set-up.

Most important is the growing critical spirit among whites against particular measures.

Some of these, like Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Act against mixed marriages, have come in for some heavy criticism in recent years. Even the Group Areas Act, and especially its application, is creating a growing feeling of moral unease.

This feeling of moral unease will in future gain momentum and take on more definite forms.

Other processes, like the search for regional peace and co-operation, South Africa's initiatives on the international level and the dividing lines that were drawn in Afrikanerdom, taken together, augur well for the future.

For the reform of structures does not depend only on people or a switch in policy. It depends equally on processes that will erode outdated structures, giving scope for the development of new ones.

On the negative side it should be emphasised that significant shifts and changes have also taken place in the political perceptions and attitudes of those other than white. A process of polarisation

among these at the receiving end of apartheid has recently surfaced in quite dramatic ways.

As far as the new constitutional dispensation is concerned, future developments will undoubtedly be influenced by the support the Labour Party can generate and the results the participating coloured and Asian parties can achieve in the bargaining process.

A positive evaluation of the processes of change at work in South African society should also be tempered by the following:

Apartheid is much more than a mere party-political policy, a way of life or a collection of statutory measures.

It is a socio-political structure which regulates the distribution of power and privilege in a racially discriminatory way, thus preserving white domination.

This structure, of which all whites were the main beneficiaries, is supported by a web of conventions, prejudices and statutory measures.

Describing apartheid as a structure has some very important and even frightening consequences. It implies that reforms will prove to be time and money consuming.

It implies that reform should be a multifaceted and tightly controlled exercise, encompassing political institutions, educational, economic, social and other related aspects of society. There is no magic wand that will make apartheid disappear.

Secondly, it is a hard fact that South Africa is not a society of individuals only, but also comprises communities with legitimate claims.

The issue as such is not mere reform, but how to reach an acceptable institutionalised equilibrium between the rights of individuals and those of communities, utilising ethnicity as a legitimate criterion in the restructuring of our society.

The realisation of this ideal obviously poses some serious problems to those engaged in the process of reform.

What remains to be done is to effectively utilise the forces that have been working for change in the direction of a more just society.

This asks for a leadership style geared towards the needs of the future. South Africa is in the fortunate position that these leaders do exist in our country — and on both sides of the colour line.

## MAJOR SUGAR INDUSTRY OVERHAUL SOUGHT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Jul 84 p 8

[Article by Barry Sergeant]

[Text]

**THE** sugar industry may introduce a multiple pool system at the beginning of the 1985-86 season.

This was announced by Lawrence Gordon Hughes, chairman of the SA Cane Growers Association, at its annual meeting.

Drought, fixed prices and a poor export market have forced a re-examination of the industry's fundamentals.

Drought cut 800 000 tons from the normal crop of 2.2-million tons this season, and the resulting 1.4-million tons is only enough for domestic demand. It is the smallest crop since 1965.

### R139-m loan

Mr Gordon Hughes said about 170 000 tons of sugar was imported to meet domestic refined-sugar requirements, and exports were reduced to 230 000 tons. The revenue forgone by the industry was an estimated R200-million measured on the average world price.

To meet production cost requirements, a loan of R139-million was raised, increasing the industry's debt to R327-million. Loan sources were SA and foreign banks under facilities guaranteed by the SA Government.

Growers and millers are paid after annual R40-million interest costs.

### Real fall

The cost to the industry of the 1983-84 drought was R400-million measured on exports lost. The domestic price rise in March 1984 was not enough to obviate raising the new loans.

Mr Gordon Hughes said that since 1970, the real cost of sugar to the consumer had fallen from 75c to 63c a kilogram.

Analysing the past five seasons, he said that had loans not been resorted to, the average grower's income would have fallen by R75 000. In 1983-84 alone, without a loan, the average grower's income would have been reduced by R42 000.

In spite of the additional revenue, the average indebtedness of growers had increased to 30% of farm value — worse than in many other sectors of the farming community.

Although a survey had shown SA to be the second-lowest cost sugar producer in the world, the Government had allowed loans instead of prices to increase.

### Mix

The Government's move to a freer market had to be assessed by the industry against its inter-related mix of agriculture, industry and

international quota obligations. As a result of the Kleu report, the Government had fixed the sugar price with reference to market forces rather than by reference to production costs only.

The present pricing formula for domestic sugar needed overhauling. When introduced in the early 1970s, it was understood that more responsibility would be given to the industry in setting prices. However, even after the Rorich Commission report, this had not been implemented. sectors of the farming community.

## Multiple

He said: "It is obvious that the Government no longer accepts the present formula, so much so that price increases granted by the Government have consistently been below the general price increases in the economy."

The two unrelated markets — the domestic where prices and demand were stable and the export where prices were volatile and an oversupply

existed — had to be faced by producers.

Instead of having a pool price, there should be a price for each market. If there were a multiple pool system, the producer would have to reduce production for the second pool if world prices dictated it.

## Incentive

"At present a reduction in output reduces income by the average cane price and, during periods of low world prices, incorrectly provides an incentive to maintain production in certain marginal areas. Conversely, during periods when export prices are higher than domestic prices, current arrangements would not correctly reward those who increased production for that market."

A multiple pool system would correctly structure incentives and would not transfer the risk of producing for the export market from those who chose it to the rest of the industry.

CSO: 3400/2036



SOCIETY'S GROSS INEQUALITIES DESCRIBED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Jun 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Sombre Facts of an Unjust Society"]

[Text]

**TEN PEOPLE** a day die in South Africa from tuberculosis. Every 2,5 minutes somebody is arrested on a pass offence. Nearly 3 million children under 15 suffer from malnutrition, or show signs of it. There is a backlog of 160 000 houses in urban black areas and of 230 000 in the homelands. In relation to national wealth South Africa — according to the United Nations Children's Fund — has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world, along with Brazil, Oman and Saudi Arabia.

These are among the many sobering facts to emerge from the 1983 *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, newly published by the Institute of Race Relations. For nearly 50 years this annual handbook has meticulously and dispassionately collated the facts, figures and their effects, of an unjust society. The new volume records progress in some areas, for instance labour relations. But by and large the picture it portrays is

neither pretty nor reassuring.

For instance: forced population removals continue; today one-third of homelands people live in resettlement camps outside traditional homeland rural areas. In education, despite great increases in State funding, for every R1 spent on a white child, only 13c is spent on an urban black child and still less in the homelands.

With all these disparities comes the concomitant — a steep increase in political violence. Last year there were 42 sabotage attacks and political assassinations, the survey notes. In the first five months of 1983, 374 people were killed or injured in political violence, more than during the preceding six years put together.

It could be that after the latest ANC setbacks this figure may now start to level off. There is no guarantee, however, that by the same token violence may not take worse forms. A society structured around gross inequalities can never be confident of stability.

# RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF BLACKS PLANNED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Thelma Tuch: "Black SA and the Outside World"]

[Text]

INSUFFICIENT attention has been given to the international relations of black South Africans ... their interaction with foreign countries and the implications of this contact.

This is according to Dr Peter Vale, who since 1981 has been a Director of Research at the Institute for International Affairs, Jan Smuts House, which commemorated its jubilee year last week.

Dr Vale was recently appointed research professor and director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, at Rhodes University. He will take up his position there next month.

In the Eastern Cape he hopes to initiate a project probing an unusual and largely ignored area of international relations ... the contacts established by black South Africans with foreign governments.

"The study of international relations is fundamentally conservative. This is because it is structurally concerned with the State, which by nature is a conservative body," Dr Vale said.

Many academics had done well analysing the South African State and its survival in the international context, he said.

However, he added: "If you talk about the international relations of South Africa in a broader sense you have to incorporate the entire country, which includes black South Africans."

This means recording these relations historically, from the interaction of the black community with the colonial authorities to researching the different circumstances in which black people have petitioned the British for protection.

Examples of the latter are demonstrated in letters written by representatives of black communities — threatened with removal and resettlement — to the British government and royalty.

Recently the KwaNgema people, who are due to be removed from their village in the Eastern Transvaal wrote to both Queen Elizabeth and Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

They requested them to intervene on their behalf to South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha ... a final, desperate effort to circumvent the removals.

It was believed until very recently that the fertile farm near Piet Retief, on which the KwaNgema people live, was given to them in 1904 by the King Edward VII.

However, research has indicated that this land was promised to the KwaNgemas by Boer leaders as far back as 1839. This was to reward them for their services to the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek over a 20-year period.

Also to be documented is the response of foreign states to representations made by black South Africans and the implications of this.

When Mrs Thatcher recently met with South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, at Chequers, she raised the issue of the pending forced removal of the Kwa Ngema people from their village.

Another aspect, stressed by Dr Vale, was that the black community in South Africa had no access to education on international relations and therefore lacked the tools to make the types of decisions, which might be expected of them in the future.

"They have to decide which side of the great ideological debate to give their loyalties to — United States capitalism or the communism of the Soviet Union."

From August, Dr Vale will focus his research primarily on the Eastern Cape . . . an area with a "tremendously rich" political and economic history.

A significant factor about the Eastern Cape was that the Government had found it necessary to create, not one, but two independent "homelands" — the Transkei and the Ciskei — in that area for the Xhosa people, he said.

This was part of the Government's response to black nationalism — the creation of independent homelands to divide the people into their various ethnic groups.

However, the Government's need to go a step further by dividing the Xhosa people among themselves was, according to Dr Vale, due to the high political profile historically displayed by this group.

"In the Eastern Cape the motive behind the independent homeland policy — the divide and rule tactic — has been taken to its most logical conclusion," he said.

Also in the process of creating independent homelands, the South African Government had "subverted international relations" by applying them within an essentially domestic setting, Dr Vale said.

In so doing the State had commandeered the tools of international relations into its implementation of apartheid and the maintenance of the status quo, he added.

"Now South Africa has to deal with a number of 'foreign' states — the TBVC states — which are actually nothing more but parts of South Africa," he explained.

Dr Vale said his plans for future research constituted "only the beginning of a new way" of looking at South African international relations.

"All this can do is lay the base-line upon which generations of succeeding black scholars can build. The same applies to the social sciences and humanities," he said.

CSO: 3400/2036

COLOURED ERR IN ELECTION REGISTRATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Jul 84 p 10

[Text]

A total of 16 604 Coloured voter registrations for the forthcoming election for the House of Representatives had been turned down, the Chief Electoral Officer, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said in Pretoria yesterday.

Most of the applications had been rejected because they were either not signed by the applicant or not co-signed by a witness, or the applicants were too young, or neglected to give their date of birth, residential address or fist names, or submitted their applications after the closing date.

Those whose applications had been refused would be notified by the electoral officers in their electoral divisions.

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, announced in Parliament this week that 907 106

Coloureds and 411 654 Indians had registered for the elections for the proposed Tricameral Parliament. The elections will be held next month.

**Constituency**

A list of the number of voters registered in each constituency for the election for the Coloured House of Representatives was released in Pretoria yesterday by the Department of Internal Affairs.

Outeniqua in the Cape province has the largest number of voters with 22 152 voters, closely followed by Gelvendale, also in the Cape, with 21 788 voters and Swartkops with 21 584.

The smallest constituency is Northern Transvaal, which has 1 263 voters. The Northern Transvaal also has the least number of Indian voters.

The list of the number of Indian voters registered in the various constituencies for the election for the House of Delegates was released on Wednesday.  
— Sapa.

COLOURED MEN DIVIDED ON CONSCRIPTION ISSUE

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 25 Jun 84 p 2

[Text]

COLOURED men interviewed in the Eastern Cape today were divided today over a suggestion by the leader of the Reformed Freedom Party, Mr Charles Julies, that coloureds should be subjected to military conscription.

An Evening Post survey in Port Elizabeth showed that some were completely against fighting for South Africa, either voluntarily or through conscription.

Others, however, said they would fight voluntarily or under conscription.

The call for conscription for coloureds was made by Mr Julies at his party's convention in Mossel Bay at the weekend.

Mr Julies said at a Press conference after the convention that he had asked the Government for the immediate implementation of compulsory conscription.

He said he was told that conscription could not be enforced immediately for financial reasons.

Among those who were asked for their views on the subject was Mr John

Whiteboy, 21, of First Avenue, Windvogel.

"I would like to join the army, voluntarily or by force. But I will first have to get my mother's permission. I think it is good to fight for my land," he said.

Mr Clifton Kara, 23, a printer of Albany Road, Grahamstown, said: "I will definitely not go to the army. The coloured people have no rights."

He was supported by Mr Brian Denster, 18, also of Grahamstown, who said: "I am not prepared to join because of the discrimination against us in the country."

Mr Philip van Vuuren, 24, an unemployed builder, of Wicks Road, Schauderville, said: "Yes, I want to join. I would like to fight right in the front line. I'm sure there will be a better future for me in the army."

Mr Henry Assam, a Salsoneville community leader and father of five sons, said he was against conscription for coloureds.

"I definitely would not encourage any of my sons to join the army. There must be full citizen rights for everybody," he said.

CSO: 3400/2036

## BLACK MINERS THREATEN TO STRIKE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Angus Macmillan and Amrit Manga]

[Text]

**BLACK miners will strike legally unless a wage dispute between the Chamber of Mines and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is resolved within six weeks.**

But illegal strikes could occur next month, says union leader Cyril Ramaphosa, if its toned-down 25% wage demand is not met by the chamber.

The union initially asked for a 60% increase to put black miners on a living wage. It scaled down its demand to 25%, which it said mining houses could afford in the current economic climate.

This week one black coal miner was shot dead and 50 were arrested at Coronation Colliery, Vryheid, when 1 750 miners went on a wildcat strike.

### Gold mines

Suggestions that widespread and prolonged strikes on gold mines could devastate the economy and bring the rand to its knees are shrugged off by the eloquent Mr Ramaphosa.

"That a strike could force the rand down is not our problem. When we strike for a living wage, those in command of the rand's value should be most concerned.

Considerations like the economy do not even enter our minds when we make our demands."

An across-the-board 25% increase would cost the mining houses about R325-million — a sizeable chunk of last year's R1 630-million net profit.

### Adamant

Mr Ramaphosa's union, which claims 70 000 members, has won some ground as the chamber raised its initial offer from 9,5% to 10,9% to 13,3% to 14,4%. But the chamber is adamant that it will not go higher.

It could be banking on avoiding legal strike action, which could not occur sooner than August, because it doubts the NUM's support. Last year it recognised the union for only 6 000 members from a total work force of more than 460 000.

Earlier this year, the NUM called a strike at Impala Platinum Mine, Rustenburg, and came out of the conflict with egg on its face when 1 400 workers were fired.

The union boasts of signed-up rather than paid-up members and the chamber says the latter counts. The chamber was granted permission by the Government to implement check-off facilities for workers to pay subscriptions to the NUM, but claims that

Mr Ramaphosa no longer wants it.

Favouring the union is the legacy of strikes by black miners. More than 9 000 workers walked out in 1978 when there were no unions. In 1982, 30 000 miners walked out.

Although the gap between black and white mine wages has narrowed from 19:1 in the early 1970s to less than 6:1, the average black monthly wage of R318 is less than in many other industries. However, workers receive free board and lodging valued at R90 to R100 a month.

In the past five years, increases to black gold miners have beaten inflation every year. This year's offered increase is the second-lowest since 1978.

Johan Liebenberg, the chamber's industrial relations adviser, says that although wage increases have consistently outstripped inflation, productivity increases have lagged miserably.

### Foreigners

From a low base, black wages were increased by 61,5% and 67,8% in 1974 and 1975 respectively. The NUM says it wanted a similar increase this year to lift the average to R450, which it calls a living wage.



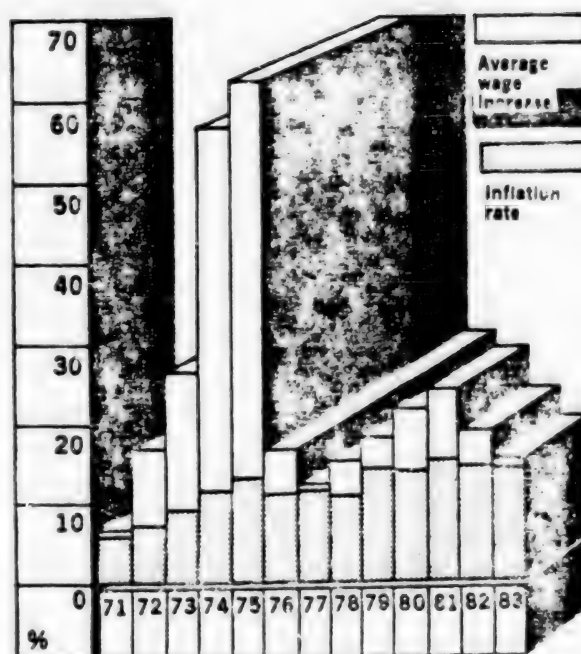
Apart from their claim that the NUM and the smaller Federated Mining Union represent only a small percentage of black gold miners, mining houses suggest that the high proportion of foreign black workers will work against unions.

TEBA, The Employment Bureau of Africa, contracted 451 406 workers to mines in 1982. According to the chamber, 41% came from outside South Africa.

Last year, R374-million was remitted by TEBA to foreign black miners.

The NUM is confident that if it calls a strike, other unions will join.

But the chamber, which says it deals with eight registered black unions and three officials associations, believes the diversity of representation favours its case.



Black gold miners have beaten inflation since 1971

**SHAPING** up as South Africa's "King" Arthur Scargali, National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa is out to show his muscle.

Undaunted by opponents' claims that his support is fading among black mineworkers, the 31-year-old attorney turned union chief is determined to maintain his militance and hang on to his power base.

Drawing hard on a cigarette in one hand and gestichustling with the other, he says: "Our support goes far beyond our 76 000 signed-up members. We are in the middle of a political whirlwind and our goal is nothing less than the total liberation of oppressed workers."

After an interrupted university career in which he was twice detained — once for 11 months while at the University of the North and for another six months when completing his B Proc degree through Unisa — he became a full-time union man.

One of the founders of the NUM, he has been at the helm since its birth two years ago.

"The struggle is still a long one," he says, giving nothing away about the ideological and political beliefs that lie behind his crusade.

## BRIEFS

SEBE BACKS CONFEDERATION--Closing the fourth session of the Ciskei National Assembly in Bisho yesterday, President Lennox Sebe called for the establishment of a Confederation of States in Southern Africa and suggested plans aimed at improving the prosperity of South Africa's urban Black population. Ciskeians, he said, should strive for the creation of the confederation, a concept promoted by the South African Government, which gave the homeland independence in 1981. "The realisation of this ideal will not only herald a new era of peace and prosperity for all...but it will also shatter the diabolical appeal which the African National Congress and other subversive organisations have for sections of our youth," president Sebe said. The Confederation of States would provide some of the answers to the situation of urban Blacks. There would be citizenship for Blacks in each State and common economy serving the confederation's interests. He mooted a three-tier government structure for urban Blacks--a lower level consisting of municipalities, but excluding the four main metropolitan areas; a middle level of the four areas which would have extended powers; and a higher level consisting of the representatives of the metropolitan councils with powers to act in an advisory capacity on a confederal level in matters related to urban areas. Adding that urban Blacks in South Africa were "an indisputable reality," President Sebe called for their inclusion in any new political dispensation.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Jul 84 p 12]

FAR RIGHT AFRIKANERS--The first signs of a possible penetration of the Defence Force by members of the far-Right Afrikaner Volkswag have been noted with concern in the Afrikaans Press. The military authorities, according to Die Vaderland's political staff, may possibly take action against two prominent commando officers in the Northern Cape who have joined the Volkswag as members of its regional executive. An army spokesman is quoted as saying that when in uniform, commando members (among whom there are many well known members of the National Party) fall under the general rules prohibiting active participation in politics. Beeld said that when it was founded it was clear that the Volkswag, under the cloak of culture, overlapped at so many points into politics that it could not be dissociated from the aims of the various political groups of which it was composed--including the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging, "with its semi-military character." Beeld described the commando officers as having been "taken in tow" by the Volkswag and wondered how it would be possible to become involved in the Volkswag without embarrassing the Defence Force. [Excerpt] [Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 25 Jun 84 p 6]

RAIL AID TO ISRAEL--Jerusalem--South African co-operation in the planned railroad to Eilat was one of the topics discussed when top businessman Mr P.A. Olivier met the speaker of Israel's parliament Mr Menahem Savidor recently. The railway to the Red Sea port city would spark new life into the flagging port facilities and would help speed South African exports to their destinations in Israel as well as cut the cost of conventional over-land transport. Another 200 km of track have to be laid costing between \$250 million and \$300 million, say officials here. Mr Olivier is the senior general manager (steel) of Iscor Ltd which is a partner with the Israeli "Koor" company in the Iskor steel mills, founded some years ago south of Tel Aviv. He told the Israeli speaker that major South African companies and banks were considering a consortium to finance the project. Mr Olivier also discussed a possible invitation to Israel to be extended to the South African Minister of Industry Mr D. de Villiers. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jun 84 p 17M]

ALTECH BUYS AFCAP--As part of a rationalisation and re-organisation programme, Allied Technologies (Altech) has acquired African Capacitors (Afcap) from Asea Electrict SA for R1 million in cash. Asea was acquired by Altech's sister company Power Technologies (Powertech) in March this year. Afcap, based in Johannesburg, is a manufacturer and supplier of metallised polypropylene film capacitors and electrolytic capacitors principally for the lighting and electric motor industries. It also manufactures metallised film used in the capacitor industry. Altech's other involvement in capacitor manufacture is through the STC components division manufacturers and suppliers of mica, polystyrene, polyester and extended foil capacitors which are made at the group's facilities in Boksburg.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jun 84 p 19M]

BISHOP'S TORTURE CLAIM--The police have denied claims made by a Lutheran bishop that he was tortured and assaulted while in custody in South Africa. Lieutenant-Colonel Vic Haynes, of the public relations division of the South African Police said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday that Bishop Tshenuwani Simon Farisani was last detained during 1977. However, Colonel Haynes said: "The South African Police deny that he was tortured or assaulted while in custody in South Africa." A news report from Washington yesterday said that Bishop Farisani had told officials of Amnesty International, the human rights group, and United States Senator Charles Percy of his treatment by South African security police, including beatings and torture. He claimed he was hanged upside down from a third floor window and given electric shocks with electrodes attached to his earlobes and genitals. Colonel Haynes also denied that the Government had awarded the Bishop any money after a damages claim.--Sapa The Star carried the original report yesterday but edited out details of the allegations of police torture. This was done to comply with a section of the Police Act (as amended in 1979). [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Jun 84 p 11]

RECESSION BEYOND CONTROL--Mmabatho--The current recession in Southern Africa was due to circumstances beyond anyone's control. Speaking at the annual banquet of the Bophuthatswana Chamber of Industries and Mines in Mmabatho at the weekend, Dr Hugo Snyders, President of the Northern Transvaal Chamber of Industries and Mines, said the prolonged drought, slow recovery of international economics and the depressed gold price were contributing factors to the current recession in Southern Africa and "beyond anyone's control." "Despite the American economy's upward phase the spin-off to date had not been as positive as expected," he said. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jul 84 p 9]

LENNINGS' EXPORT--The R250-million-a-year turnover Lennings Group has formed a specialist export company to be known as Lennings Export. The new company is aiming for a R1-0 million turnover within five years. According to a managing director, Mr David Rigby, the new company will be concentrating on the neighbouring territories and Central Africa initially. It will supply a wide range of Group products to those territories either directly or through its subsidiary companies. Other target markets will include USA and Europe. [Text] [Johannesburg MINING WEEK in English 27 Jul 84 p 5]

POLICE BRUTALITY CLAIMED--Mbabane--A member of the African National Congress this week accused the Swaziland police of brutality and claimed that police had handcuffed him, blindfolded him and driven him to an isolated spot where they beat him up and subjected him to intensive interrogations. The man, Mr Bazil Mazibuko, was appearing as a witness in a case against another alleged ANC member, Mr Vusumuzi Nxumalo, who appeared in the Mbabane Magistrate's Court charged with contravening the Arms and Ammunition Act. Mr Mazibuko, who was arrested in Manzini in April this year and charged with contravening the Immigration Act, told the court that he had served his sentence of 15 days' imprisonment but was still being held in custody. The trial is continuing.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Jul 84 p 10]

'LONGEST' PIPELINE--The halfway stage has been reached in what is claimed to be SA's longest slurry pipeline. It will be 38km long and run from the Simmergo dump retreatment plant near Gosforth Park in Germiston, to the East Rand Gold and Uranium (Ergo) tailings dam near Springs. About 8 km runs through an urban area and is buried, say the contractors, W.J.M. Pipelines. Operating pressures will be very high and the pipeline has been interrupted at midpoint where a booster pump station will be built. The bends have been lined with rubber to cope with the erosive nature of the slurry material. Rodding eyes for the clearing of blockages are being installed at 300m intervals. The pipeline is to be completed by the end of the year. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Jul 84 p 15]

AID FOR SWA--South Africa had provided R1 143 million in economic assistance to South West Africa and for the defence of the territory during the 1984 financial year, the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, said. Altogether R450 million of the total was in respect of defence and R30 million for police services, he said in written reply to a question by Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg). [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Jul 84 p 4]

DUNCAN OPPOSES BOYCOTTS--Stockholm--Black Sash chairman Mrs Sheena Duncan has surprised her Swedish government hosts here by rejecting all cultural and economic boycotts of South Africa. "We heed all the exchanges of knowledge we can get from the rest of the world," she said. Mrs Duncan, who was described by her hosts as the "Lech Walesa" or "Sakharov" of South Africa, is visiting Stockholm to inform the Swedish Foreign Minister and government officials of the Black Sash's work against apartheid. But, at a press-conference, she refused to comment on the effects of Swedish-based boycotts or on South African law. "I don't want to have to face accusations of supporting terrorism when I get home to Johannesburg," she said. Mrs Duncan added that she did not believe Swedish subsidiaries in South Africa were "any better than others." "Black Sash has, in recent years, had the support of South African churches, but I do not believe the whites really want to be "informed." "I have met an unforgiveable passivity among blacks, too. Especially in Soweto they seem satisfied with the completely unrealistic dream that the ANC will liberate them all within 10 years with an invasion force," she said. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jul 84 p 1M]

LABOUR PARTY SPLIT DENIED--Port Elizabeth--The leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Alan Hendrickse, has denied reports that branches of the party in the Eastern Cape have broken away to join the People's Congress party. Mr Hendrickse said in Port Elizabeth at the weekend that a few members had resigned after being accused at a Uitenhage Labour Party meeting of having been involved in negotiations with the leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr Peter Marais. The accusations were made at a meeting of the party's Eastern Cape region attended by 33 Labour Party branches. Mr Hendrickse said those who had resigned were an unsuccessful candidate in the party's nomination for elections in August, Mr Ivan Daniels, and eight numbers of his Grahamstown branch. Two members of other branches had also resigned, but Mr Hendrickse emphasised the party remained strong. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jul 84 p 13]

CSO: 3400/2037

BRIEFS

CHINESE NAVAL UNITS--About 15 Chinese naval engineers are at Dar es Salaam carrying out a complete overhaul of Tanzania's Chinese naval units. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jun 84 p 26]

COLONEL L.G. SANDE--Colonel L.G. Sande of the Navy HQ, and Defence Minister Colonel G.M. Waitira, of the Defence Ministry attended the fifth Italian naval exhibition, Mostra Navala, at Genoa from May 13-18. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jun 84 p 26]

CSO: 3400/2038



## BRIEFS

FRENCH MILITARY CO-OPERATION--General Jacques Leclair, the head of the military co-operation mission of the French Minister of Co-operation and Development, visited Togo from April 17-22. In a statement before his departure, he thanked General Gnassingbe Eyadema and all the Togolese military authorities for their special welcome. He said: It is normal that at regular intervals the officials in charge of the close co-operation between our two countries should meet in order to try to improve on our actions, try to raise activities from the routine level and make the various operations that we undertake in close collaboration with the Togolese armed forces more efficient. Another impression I had from my visit was the quality of the military equipment placed at the disposal of the army, the gendarmerie, the navy and air force by the military leaders of your country, and I was able to admire alert units that have good equipment at their disposal. I would like to point out that military co-operation with France together with your leaders and soldiers contributed to the successful work that I observed. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE in English Jun 84 pp 17-18]

CSO: 3400/2038

## BRIEFS

RESETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES--An official Kampala source has announced that a minimum of 20 million dollars will be necessary for the resettlement of refugees who fled the West Nile Province (northwestern Uganda) for southern Sudan and eastern Zaire. Officials of the Ministry of Rehabilitation stated to the press Wednesday in Kampala that 273,643 Ugandans residing in Sudan and Zaire had returned to their country since the beginning of the resettlement program in 1982 and its end last March. Of these, 53,643 were resettled in the Moyo district and the remaining 220,000 in the Arua district. Most of the refugees left West Nile to escape the war which ended in Idi Amin Dada's fall in 1979 or following the fighting which later opposed government forces and ex-soldiers of Idi Amin Dada, himself a native of West Nile. According to Ugandan officials, nearly 40,000 Ugandan refugees still reside in eastern Zaire and nearly 150,000 in southern Sudan. Most of them are ready to return to Uganda before March 1985, Mr. Alfred Awuyo, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Rehabilitation, affirmed. [Text] [Bujumbura LE RENOUVEAU DU BURUNDI in French 22 May 84 p 5] 9825

CS0: 3419/693

GENERAL STATUTES OUTLINE ROLE OF CDR'S

Uniform Structuralization, Task Definitions

Ouagadougou CARREFOUR AFRICAINE in French No 833, 1 Jun 84 p 16

[Article by Clement Tapsoba: "An Instrument Serving the People"]

[Text] The adoption on 17 May of the general statutes of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR's) and their publication on 28 and 29 May constitute a fundamental phase in the irreversible process upon which the Upper Voltan people have embarked for the exercise, control, defense and consolidation of their revolutionary government. The choice of the date of 17 May for the adoption of this instrument to organize and operate the CDR's was far from accidental. Rather, it is a symbol at a time when the people have just commemorated the anniversary of the fascist coup d'etat.

Ten months have gone by since the invitation issued by the CNR [National Council of the Revolution] to the people on the now historic night of 4 August "to set up Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in order to participate in the grand patriotic struggle of the CNR and prevent enemies at home and abroad from harming our people."

This period of time, deemed excessive by detractors who viewed it as groping of the revolution, has nevertheless been useful to our people as an apprenticeship in democracy within their mass organization, the CDR's. That is what is important.

If the orientation speech of 2 October gave the definition and objectives of the CDR's, the absence of texts dealing with their structuralization, organization and operation gave rise to many adaptations also resulting in problems and various intrigues where the bureaus are set up.

With the statutes, which in sum constitute the result of the synthesis of difficulties encountered, most problems should henceforth find their solutions. The three sections comprising the statutes respond to this need.

Organization

One of the problems encountered in the CDR's was the diversification of structures.

All labels existed for designating the CDR's: coordinating bureau, revolutionary council, coordinating committee, and so on. In addition, certain departments included several coordinating bureaus, which were themselves headed by a coordinating bureau. This scarcely facilitated the operation of the CDR's and even tended to paralyze activities. By standardizing structures and defining the tasks falling to each rank-and-file bureau member, the statutes facilitate the operation of the CDR's and prevents responsibilities from being concentrated in the hands of a few persons. Actually, there were bureaus made up of a plethoric number of officials and others but not enough members. In other CDR's, the presence of women was rather limited to their role as rank-and-file members. Henceforth, a bureau not including any deputy delegate will not be recognized by the national general secretariat of the CDR's. This provision is obviously aimed at bringing women into active participation in the government structure.

### Democratic Centralism

As mass organizations, the CDR's are governed by the rule of democratic centralism, a revolutionary organizational method that implies discipline, self-sacrifice and strictness. This prime aspect of the life of the CDR's emphasized by the statutes should be the barometer based on which one could judge the level of political awareness and revolutionary commitment of any militant. At the time of the delegate elections, certain individuals who infiltrated the CDR's had sometimes undermined them through their splinter tactics and dishonest practices. Ten months thereafter, the solid political training that many members have acquired should make it possible to more easily get rid of those who would still try to undermine the process, as has been the case for big landowners in most of our provinces.

In defining the powers of every rank-and-file CDR, the statutes are in no way ambiguous. The various competencies at all levels of operation of the government apparatus are actually aimed at having power exercised by the CDR's. For example, some tried, at the time of the installation of the CDR's, to set up barriers that the latter could not cross.

There is nothing more to add. In the public or parapublic departments, the department committee participates in departmental management while overseeing it. It participates at all levels of the department. In the private sector, it represents the CDR militant with management and participates in all department organs and has access to all the information it needs.

### Dubious People

One of the stumbling blocks to the election of the CDR bureaus from the earliest months was also the criterion of membership in the CDR's. Some comrades assumed not to be natives or suspected of dubious morality were prohibited access to the CDR bureau of a given district, as was the case in Dapoya II, Peuloghin or Ouidi. The statutes are clear on this matter and [open] access to the CDR's to any patriotic Upper Voltan and any foreigner residing in the Upper Voltan national territory if he follows the political line of the CNR.

However, the conditions for membership in the bureau are based on foundations tending to protect the CDR's from dubious individuals.

One can now anticipate smooth operation of the CDR's as a result of the different articles defined by the statutes. Of course, as in the case of any new organization, it is certain that difficulties could appear. However, the resolution of such difficulties will depend on the determination and discipline of all members of the RDP [People's Democratic Revolution].

#### CDR General Statutes

Ouagadougou L'OBSERVATEUR in French 6 Jun 84 pp 5-13

[Text] The advent of the revolution on 4 August 1983, crowning the great people's resistance movement reacting against the imperialist conspiracy of 17 May 1983, is "undeniably the consistent consecration and end purpose of the struggles of the Upper Voltan people against neocolonial domination and exploitation and the enslavement of our people, for independence, freedom, dignity and the progress of our people." Far from being a spontaneous mass movement, the revolution is on a higher level than the series of great people's struggles whose significant milestones are the people's uprising of 3 January 1966, the workers' struggles of December 1975, May 1979 and November 1980. Each of these phases in the fight of our people has helped exacerbate the class contradictions within Upper Voltan society.

The August revolution derives the lessons of past struggles, channeling the people's aspirations that have long been diverted or stifled, and intends to be the solution to the social contradictions of the current phase.

The August revolution, as defined by the orientation speech of 2 October 1983, is a People's Democratic Revolution (RDP). Actually, it is democratic because it is aimed at liquidating imperialist domination and exploitation, at purging the campaign of all social and economic hobbles that keep it in a stage of backwardness.

It is a people's revolution because it is the work of the masses themselves, mobilized around democratic and revolutionary watchwords that in fact express their interests, which are irreducibly opposed to those of the reactionary classes allied with international imperialism.

These two characteristics of the August revolution dictate that the people take control of their destiny and erect a people's democracy.

Achieving such objectives implies that the people conceive, direct and control national life on the political, economic and social levels, that they set up an organizational framework and provide the means. These means are the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR's).

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR's), which are an emanation of the National Revolutionary Council (CNR), constitute the authentic organization of the people, exercising their revolutionary power. They are the

instrument which the people have forged for the sovereign mastery of their destiny. They are not a party. They are a mass movement to which the people belong on the basis of the anti-imperialist platform set forth in the speech of orientation on 2 October 1983. Membership ignores affiliation with a clan, region or religion.

As their name indicates, the mission of the CDR's is to defend the People's Democratic Revolution (RDP). Defending here means protecting the achievements, guaranteeing continuity and working to achieve the objectives outlined at all levels. The CDR's are to actively participate in: the socioeconomic construction of the country and its cultural expansion; the maintenance of security and the military defense of the country; the political and ideological training of the people, which presumes that the CDR's constitute permanent crucibles of training and the dissemination of revolutionary ideas; and the destruction of all obstacles to economic and social development, particularly the destruction of barriers to the emancipation of women and the solution to problems of the agricultural world.

However, if any organization intends to be operational, it must be based on internal discipline. The CDR's operate on the principle of democratic centralism.

These statutes are aimed at giving the CDR's an instrument for regulating their operation in order to facilitate their inevitable attack on all bastions of the reactionaries and enable them to effectively play their historic role in the irreversible process which the Upper Voltan people have just undertaken, one that requires a spirit of continuity, discipline, determination, sacrifice and self-denial.

Fatherland or death; we shall overcome!

## Part 1. Definition of Objectives

### Chapter 1. Definition

Article 1. The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR's) are an emanation of the National Revolutionary Council (CNR).

Article 2. The CDR's are the authentic rank-and-file organization of the people for exercising control over and defense and consolidation of revolutionary power.

Article 3. The CDR's are endowed with a bureau elected by the general assembly. The bureau is the executive organ of the CDR.

Article 4. Every village or city not set up as a commune, department, professional training school or establishment of secondary or higher education, communal sector, military or paramilitary corps, garrison, department or province, must set up a CDR.



Article 5. The term "committee" designates the organization to defend revolutionary power in the villages, communal sectors, cities not set up as communes, departments, establishments of secondary and higher education, professional training schools, military and paramilitary corps, garrisons and departments.

The term "council" designates the organization to defend the revolutionary government in the provinces.

Article 6. The headquarters of each CDR is to be located in the place it was set up.

Article 7. The activities of the different CDR's are coordinated at the national level by a national general secretariat of the CDR's.

Article 8. The headquarters of the national general secretariat of the CDR's is Ouagadougou. It can be transferred to any other place if so ordered by the CNR.

Article 9. Every CDR must draw up a list of its members. This list, which mentions the name(s), first name(s), professions and ages of the members, must be available at any time at the headquarters of the rank-and-file CDR, departments, provinces and national general secretariat of the CDR's.

Article 10. The CDR's have a motto, anthem and banner that must be known to all CDR members.

## Chapter 2.

Article 11. As a fundamental revolutionary organization, the CDR has the following objectives: ensuring the strict application of the decisions, measures and provisions made by the CNR, carrying out all revolutionary tasks entrusted to it by the CNR; mobilizing, informing and organizing the people for any task or local and/or national revolutionary action in the political, economic, social, cultural and security domains; preparing its members to defend the revolution on the military, political, economic, social and cultural fronts; promoting and encouraging the people's cultural patrimony and freeing the people's creative genius; and encouraging the people to effectively exercise revolutionary power.

## Part 2. Organization

### Section 1. Structures

Article 12. The CDR is structured in four levels, as follows:

Article 13. The first level includes: the village committee; the city committee (city not yet set up as a commune or department capital); the sector or, in its stead, the district sector; the department committee; the committee of the military or paramilitary corps or unit; and the committee of high school or university students.

Article 14. The second level includes: the departmental committee; the garrison committee; and the committee for the coordination of departments.

Article 15. The third level is the same as the provincial council.

Article 16. The fourth level is the congress of the CDR's.

## Section 2. Definitions

### Chapter 1. The Rank-and-File CDR's

Article 17. The rank-and-file CDR's are those in the villages, cities, communal sectors, military or paramilitary units, departments, students in secondary or professional training schools.

### Article 18. The Village Committee

It includes all member comrades from the same village. The bureau of the village committee, elected by the general assembly, includes: a delegate from the village; a deputy delegate; an official for political training; an official for propaganda and information; an official for socioeconomic activities; an official for cultural activities and sports; an official for security, military and civic training; an official for women's mobilization; and a treasury official.

### Article 19. City Committee

It includes member comrades from a city or department capital not set up as a commune.

The city committee bureau is elected by the general assembly and is made up of the following: a city delegate; a deputy delegate; an official for political training; an official for information and propaganda; an official for socioeconomic activities; an official for cultural and sports activities; an official for security and military and civic training; an official for women's mobilization; and a treasury official.

### Article 20. Sector Committee

It includes all comrades belonging to the same communal sector as defined by Order No 83-021/CNR-PRES of 14 November 1983 concerning the reorganization of the territorial administration.

The sector bureau is elected in the general assembly and includes the following: a sector delegate; a deputy delegate; an officer for political training; an officer for information and propaganda; an officer for socioeconomic activities; an officer for cultural activities and sports; an officer for security, military and civic training; an officer for women's mobilization and a treasury officer.

The bureaus of the different sector committees of the same commune meet as a communal coordinating committee. They elect a communal coordinating bureau whose composition is the same as that of the bureau of the communal sector.

#### Article 21. Department Committee

It includes all comrades in the same public, parapublic or private department.

The bureau of the department committee is elected in general assembly and includes: a department delegate; an officer for political training; an officer for information and propaganda; an officer for socioeconomic activities; an officer for cultural activities and sports; an officer for security and military and civic training; and a treasury officer.

However, for certain specific cases (limited personnel, work sites, and so on), the composition and level of the committee will be defined at the prompting of the members in agreement with the provincial council and the national general secretariat of the CDR's.

#### Article 22. Corps Committee

The committee of the military or paramilitary corps or unit includes all military or paramilitary comrade members belonging to the same corps.

The corps committee bureau, elected in general assembly, includes: a corps or unit delegate; an officer for political and civic training; an officer for information, propaganda and promotion; an officer for socioeconomic activities; an officer for cultural activities and sports; an officer for the treasury; and a security officer.

#### Article 28. Pupil or Student Committees

It includes all students or pupil members from the same high school, institute of higher education or professional training school.

Its bureau, elected in general assembly, includes: a delegate from the school, institute or training school; an officer for political training; an officer for information and propaganda; an officer for socioeconomic activities; an officer for cultural activities and sports; an officer for security, military and civic training; and a treasury officer.

#### Chapter 2. Departmental Committee, Garrison Committee, Department Coordinating Committee

##### Article 24. Departmental Committee

The departmental committee includes CDR delegates from the same department: village, city, sector, corps, students-pupils, (administrative) department or communal coordinating bureau.

Every rank-and-file CDR is represented on the committee by its delegate. Only the communal coordinating bureau is totally represented.

The bureau of the departmental committee, elected in general assembly of the departmental committee, is made up of the following: a departmental delegate; a deputy delegate; an officer for political training; an officer for information and propaganda; an officer for socioeconomic activities; an officer for cultural activities and sports; an officer for security, military and civic training; an officer for women's mobilization; and a treasury officer.

#### Article 25. The Garrison Committee

It includes the bureaus of the different military and paramilitary corps set up in the garrison.

Every corps is represented on the garrison committee by its bureau.

The garrison committee bureau, elected in general assembly of the garrison includes: a garrison delegate; an officer for political and civic training; an officer for propaganda, information and promotion; an officer for socioeconomic activities; an officer for cultural activities and sports; a treasury officer; and a security officer.

#### Article 26. Coordinating Committee of the (Administrative) Departments

It includes delegates from the different administrative department committees located in the same territorial department.

Every administrative department is represented on the coordinating committee by its delegate.

The administrative department coordinating bureau is elected in general assembly and made up of the following: a coordinating delegate; an officer for political and civic training; an officer for information, propaganda and promotion; an officer for documentation and archives; an officer for security, military and civic training; and a treasury officer.

### Chapter 3. Provincial Council

Article 27. The provincial council includes, in addition to the high commissioner, the following: the members of the departmental bureaus; the members of the garrison committees; the members of the administrative department coordinating bureaus.

### Chapter 4. The Provincial Revolutionary Government (PRP)

Article 28. The provincial revolutionary government is the organ for conceiving and executing local government.

Article 29. Members of the PRP are elected by the provincial council and installed by the high commissioner.

Article 30. The PRP is made up of the following: a high commissioner named by the CNR; a secretary general; a delegate for defense and security; a delegate for people's justice; a delegate for equipment and communications; a delegate for finance; a delegate for agricultural and livestock development; a delegate for health; a delegate for commerce; a delegate for education; a delegate for culture and handicrafts; a delegate for sports; a delegate for tourism and the hotel trade; and a delegate for women's activities.

Article 31. If need be, the PRP can at any time call upon any qualified person.

Article 32. The PRP has a permanent secretariat made up of the high commissioner, the secretary general of the PRP, the delegate for defense and security, the delegate for information and propaganda, the delegate for women's activities. The members of the permanent secretariat must reside in the provincial capital.

#### Chapter 5. Congress

Article 33. The congress is the highest body that brings together all component parts of the CDR's.

Article 34. The bureau of the congress is designated by the national general secretariat of the CDR's. The congress can form ad hoc or permanent committees and subcommittees.

Article 35. Presided over by the national secretary general of the CDR's, the congress includes: the national general secretariat of the CDR's; the provincial high commissioners; ten members from each PRP; departmental delegates; the national bureau of secondary students; the student bureau; the national bureau of the women's organization; and the national coordinating bureau of the administrative department CDR's.

#### Chapter 5. National Secretariat of the CDR's

Article 36. The national secretariat is in charge of heading and coordinating activities of the CDR's.

#### Part 3. Powers and Operation

##### Chapter 1. Democratic Centralism

Article 37. The daily life and action of the CDR's are governed by the rule of democratic centralism.

Article 38. Definition of democratic centralism:

Democratic centralism is a revolutionary organizational method which implies: subordination of the member to the organization; subordination of the minority to the majority; subordination of lower levels to higher levels; elections at all levels with ratification by the next highest echelon; the autonomy of local



organizations with respect to matters under their competency; the need for officials and officers to report regularly to their rank and file.

Subordination requires broad debate and the exchange of ideas at all levels in order to draw up positions and make common decisions involving the entire organization.

The highest echelon ensures application of common positions or decisions, based on organizational discipline. Criticism and self-criticism must be practiced at all levels.

## Chapter 2. General Assembly of CDR's

Article 39. The general assembly is the body that includes all members of a CDR. It is sovereign and has complete power with respect to decisions relating to the operation and life of the CDR.

Article 40. The role of the general assembly is to: elect the executive bureau; and to discuss matters presented to it by the bureau and make decisions in all domains under its competency: socioeconomic, political training, information, propaganda, security, culture, sports, and so on.

Article 41. The general assembly meets when summoned by the bureau or at the request of two-thirds of the members of the CDR.

The rank-and-file CDR's meet in regular session at least every two weeks.

The departmental committee meets at least once a month.

A quorum is reached when two-thirds of the members of the CDR are present.

Article 42. Decisions are made by an absolute majority of the members present (over half of the votes).

However, decisions may be made on the second ballot with a relative majority.

Voting is by a show of hands.

The minutes of each meeting are kept by a member of the bureau and approved by a member of the bureau and adopted by the bureau following any discussion or necessary amendment. The general assembly can ask to examine and pass the minutes of the previous meeting.

Article 43. The general assembly may hold special meetings if called by the bureau or at the request of two-thirds of the members.

Article 44. The general assembly can remove and replace a member of the bureau or the entire bureau at any time. A report is submitted to the highest level.

The national general secretariat of the CDR's can at any time dissolve a bureau that does not perform its duties.



### Chapter 3. The CDR Bureau

Article 45. The executive organ of the CDR whose emanation it is, the bureau's role is to: preside over meetings of the general assembly; summon the general assembly and propose the agenda; head and coordinate all actions undertaken by the CDR; draft the program of activities for the general assembly; apply decisions made in general assembly; pass on the instructions of the higher organs and ensure their effective and consistent application; disseminate and execute the policy defined by the CNR; and transmit suggestions and decisions of the lower levels to higher levels.

Article 46. The top official of the bureau, the delegate, coordinates and supervises the action of the bureau and presides over its meetings and those of the general assembly.

Article 47. The other members of the bureau exercise their competency in the domain(s) attributed to them by these statutes.

Article 48. The term of the bureau is for two years. Members of the bureau may be reelected.

### Chapter 4. (Special) Operation of Each Rank-and-File CDR

#### Article 49. Village Committee

It exercises local power through the village delegate, assisted by members of the bureau.

a) The powers of the village committee are: administrative, socioeconomic, sociocultural and sports, political, educational, relating to women and in the fields of security and defense.

Programs for the execution of different projects will be the subject of texts produced by the national general secretariat of the CDR's.

b) The powers of the village delegate are:

The village delegate is the catalyst of the activities listed above. He is the middleman between the local revolutionary government and the different higher levels.

He holds local administrative power, presides over meetings of the bureau and the general assembly, represents the local government at all times and in all places, orders spending for which he is accountable to the bureau and the general assembly and signs all documents involving the village committee.

c) Powers of the deputy delegate:

She assists the delegate in his duties and replaces him if need be.

#### Article 50. Sector Committee

- a) The powers of the sector committee are: administrative, socioeconomic, sociocultural and sports, educational, political, relating to women and in the fields of defense and security.
- b) The sector delegate, in agreement with other members of the bureau, coordinates the activities of the sector, organizes political life within the sector, supervises and ensures the execution of tasks.
- c) The communal coordinating committee

The mayor of the commune, named by the CNR upon the proposal of sector delegates, presides over the communal coordinating committee whose vocation it is to: survey activities of sector committees undertaken by sector committees and encourage cooperation between the different sector committees, as well as promote overall action in behalf of all sectors.

Meetings are monthly and are held either when called by the coordinating bureau or when requested by two-thirds of the sector committees.

#### Article 51. City Committee

It operates along the same lines as the sector committee. Its activities are in the following fields: administrative, socioeconomic, cultural and sports, educational, political, relating to security and defense.

The city delegate, in agreement with other members of the bureau, coordinates the activities of the city, organizes political life within the committee, and supervises and oversees the execution of tasks.

When necessary, it can delegate its powers to any member of the bureau it deems fit to replace it.

#### Article 52. Military or Paramilitary Corps Committee

- a) It is the duty of the military or paramilitary corps to: handle socioeconomic tasks; create clubs for political and civic training within the corps; contribute to the cultural and sports advancement of the people; bring the troops closer to the people in order to accelerate creation of the people's army.
- b) The exercise of the power of the corps committee bureau is independent of that of the head of the corps. However, the head of the corps can be a member of the bureau.

The corps committee plans its activities along with the corps leader whenever possible.

## Article 53. Administrative Department Committee

### a) Powers

Certain powers are common to all administrative departments, whatever their nature. Others are specific to the type of department.

#### Common Powers

The committee promotes, coordinates and supervises revolutionary militant activities. It provides political and ideological training.

The members, in accordance with the political line set forth by the CNR: ensure the security of the department.

The committee organizes all cultural and sports activities that would guarantee members a sound revolutionary development on the physical, intellectual, moral and social levels.

#### Specific Powers

In the public or parapublic departments, the committee participates in management of the department while overseeing it. It participates at all levels of the department (board of directors, meeting of personnel, disciplinary council, and so on).

In the private sector, it represents, the CDR member in dealing with management and participates at all levels of the department (board of directors, disciplinary council, and so on) and has access to all information it needs.

### b) Coordinating Bureau

Liaison between administrative department committees belonging to the same ministry or to companies and plants with similar activities is handled within the framework of a coordinating bureau.

c) Meetings and other activities of the administrative department committees must take place (except when authorized by competent authorities) outside of working hours. Rank-and-file members and bureau members are subject to the existing statutes and regulations of their working places.

d) The exercise of the bureau's power is independent of that of the director of department head. However, the director or department head can be a member of the bureau.

## Article 54. High School and University Student Committees

### a) Powers

The powers of the committee are like those of other committees.

b) The committee programs its activities together with the administrative organ of the establishment.

#### Chapter 5. Relations Between Rank-and-File Committees

Article 55. No one can be a member of the bureau of two CDR's at the same time.

Article 56. Membership in a city, village or sector CDR does not exclude membership in an administrative department, corps or student CDR.

Article 57. The rank-and-file CDR's can and must maintain between themselves and under the supervision of the higher echelon relations and exchanges in all areas of activity deemed by them to be useful for the consolidation of the revolution.

#### Chapter 6. Operation of Departmental Committee

Article 58. The departmental committee is the general assembly of the delegates from the rank-and-file CDR's from the same department.

The departmental committee meets at least once a month.

However, it can hold special meetings if need be when called by the bureau or at the request of two-thirds of its members.

Article 59. The general assembly of the departmental committee has the following objectives: determining activities of the rank-and-file committees; evaluating the action of the rank-and-file committees and the impact of the slogans of the CNR; and surveying the problems of all kinds encountered by rank-and-file committees in order to find proper solutions for them.

Article 60. The bureau of the departmental committee has the duty to: report to the assembly on militants; concerns; drawing up a balance sheet of activities between two general assemblies; reporting on the national situation; reporting on the situation in rank-and-file committees; coordinating the activities of the rank-and-file committees; passing on to the assembly the instructions of the higher organs and ensuring their concrete application in the field.

#### Article 61. Departmental Delegate

The departmental delegate's role is to: preside over the general assembly of the departmental committee; coordinate and supervise the bureau's action in accordance with the directives of the general assembly of the departmental committee; distribute to the different members of the bureau the tasks defined by the general assembly; and follow up and oversee the execution of bureau tasks.

Article 62. Under the supervision of the higher echelon, departmental committees can and must maintain relations and exchanges between themselves in all fields they deem necessary.

## Chapter 7. Provincial Council

### a) Powers

Article 63. It is the general assembly that groups together the bureaus of the departmental committees of a single province.

It constitutes the decision-making organ at the provincial level.

Article 64. It defines the main guidelines with respect to provincial development as defined in the powers of the provincial revolutionary government.

Article 65. It evaluates the potential resources of the province and gives instructions for their use.

Article 66. It passes the provincial budget.

Article 67. It discusses and passes the plans for provincial development, drafted and presented by the provincial revolutionary government and oversees their execution.

Article 68. It ensures the application of CNR directives.

Article 69. It draws up the annual record of all activities of the departmental committees.

Article 70. It elects the members of the provincial revolutionary government other than the high commissioner.

Article 71. It can at any time dismiss a member, part or all of the members of the provincial revolutionary government if it deems it necessary.

Article 72. Only the council can receive and accept the resignation of a member, part or all the members of the PRP.

### b) Provincial Revolutionary Government

Article 73. The PRP is the executive organ of the provincial council. In this capacity, it drafts the provincial development plan, submits it to the council and ensures its application.

The plan, integrated into the national development plan, is essentially based on the province's own resources in the following areas: socioeconomic, cultural and sports, security and defense, information, and tourism and the hotel trade.

Article 74. The PRP oversees and ensures the effective executive of the administrative government as defined by Order No 83-021/CNR/PRES/IS of 14 November 1983 concerning the reorganization of the territorial administration and its future modifications.

Article 75. The term of members of the PRP is two years. The term is renewable.

Article 76. The secretariat of the PRP meets once a week and reports to the PRP, which meets once a month. However, these bodies may meet in special session whenever necessary.

Article 77. The high commissioner, aided by the secretary general of the PRP, presides over the council.

Article 78. The deliberations of the meetings of the PRP are recorded by the secretary general of the PRP in the form of minutes. A report is systematically sent to all bureaus of the departmental CDR's, which publish it.

#### c) High Commissioner

Article 79. The high commissioner, named by the CNR, a revolutionary mobilizer, is preferably a member of the RDP and a front-line organizer.

Article 80. He presides over the provincial council and the PRP.

Article 81. As president of the provincial council, he organizes and promotes political life in the province, in keeping with the orientations of the CNR.

He informs the province about the policies of the CNR and his government.

He passes on to the province, the directives of the national general secretariat of the CDR's.

He keeps the national general secretariat of all movements and actions in the province.

He informs the national general secretariat of public opinion and the state of mind regarding the national situation.

Article 82. As president of the PRP, he coordinates and heads the action of the PRP; gives instructions for execution of the provincial development plan, in keeping with decisions made by the provincial council and the PRP; and oversees management of equipment and personnel credits under his authority.

#### Chapter 8. Congress

Article 83. The highest organ of the CDR's, the congress meets every two years when called by the national general secretariat.

However, it can meet in special session.

Article 84. The different organs participating in the regular congress must be informed three months before the date set. The convocation must state the topic and place of the meeting.



Article 85. Every delegation presents a report on the topic and an activity report.

Article 86. As the highest body of the CDR's, the congress must: determine the application of CNR directives; evaluate the operation of the CDR's; receive the political directives from the CNR on the general political orientation of the revolutionary movement, work to develop and strengthen the revolutionary process; and make suggestions and recommendations.

Article 87. The bureau of the congress, outside the national general secretariat of the CDR's, presiding officer of the meeting, includes six members: the deputy national secretary general, vice president; two reporters; one secretary; and two advisers.

Article 88. Following the different reports presented to the congress, committees and subcommittees are set up. The reports of the national general secretariat are submitted to the congress for approval.

Article 89. Voting is by raised hand unless the congress decides otherwise. Decisions are made by an absolute majority (over half of the votes). However, on the second ballot, decisions are made by a relative majority.

#### Chapter 9. National General Secretariat of the CDR's

Article 90. The national general secretariat is headed by a national secretary general aided by a deputy. Its structure and operation are defined by presidential order.

Article 91. The national secretary general and the deputy national secretary general are named by the CNR.

#### Part 4. Membership, Sanctions and Dissolution

##### Chapter 1. Membership

Article 92. The following are eligible for membership in the CDR's: any patriotic Upper Voltan living in the country or abroad who supports the political line set forth by the CNR in the political orientation speech of 2 October; any foreigner residing within the Upper Voltan national territory who supports the political line of the CNR and who pledges to defend and consolidate the Upper Voltan revolution. However, the application for membership is submitted for previous approval by the national secretariat.

Article 93. A CDR member must: be outstanding in his loyalty to the ideals of the revolution and his dedication to the people's cause; be of sound mind and responsible for his actions; be of good social morality in his daily life; be disciplined; be humble and observe the rules of democratic centralism; and apply the principle of criticism and self-criticism.

Article 94. In order to be a member of the bureau, one must: have a sense of initiative and organization; never have been on the leadership organ of a

dissolved reactionary party; never have stood out as a notorious political opportunist of the right or the left; have set oneself apart from the state bourgeoisie, the comprador bourgeoisie and reactionary forces or, in any case, not have worked to defend or consolidate them; and never have been convicted of theft, embezzlement, the misappropriation of funds or property or have engaged in illegal trafficking.

## Chapter 2. Sanctions, Dissolution

Article 95. Violations of the provisions of these statutes entail the following sanctions in order of seriousness: warning, censure, suspension, exclusion, dissolution of the structure.

Article 96. Sanctions are the province of the general assembly of the committee to which the delinquent militant belongs.

Article 97. Sanctions are cumulative with those which the national general secretariat can take against a member, bureau or a CDR.

Article 98. The national general secretariat issues sanctions on the base of facts certified following an investigation either by the bureau or by any of the higher instances to which the member, bureau or CDR in question belongs.

Article 99. Any member punished has the right of appeal to the next highest body.

## Part 5. Resources, Publications and Miscellaneous Provisions

### Chapter 1. Resources

Article 100. The resources of the CDR's are of three kinds: specific resources, budgetary resources and special resources.

Article 101. Specific resources: dues whose rates will be determined by the national general secretariat of the CDR's; the sale of stamps, insignias and cards; receipts from cultural, sports and artistic events; the sale of newspapers; proceeds from socioeconomic activities; and donations.

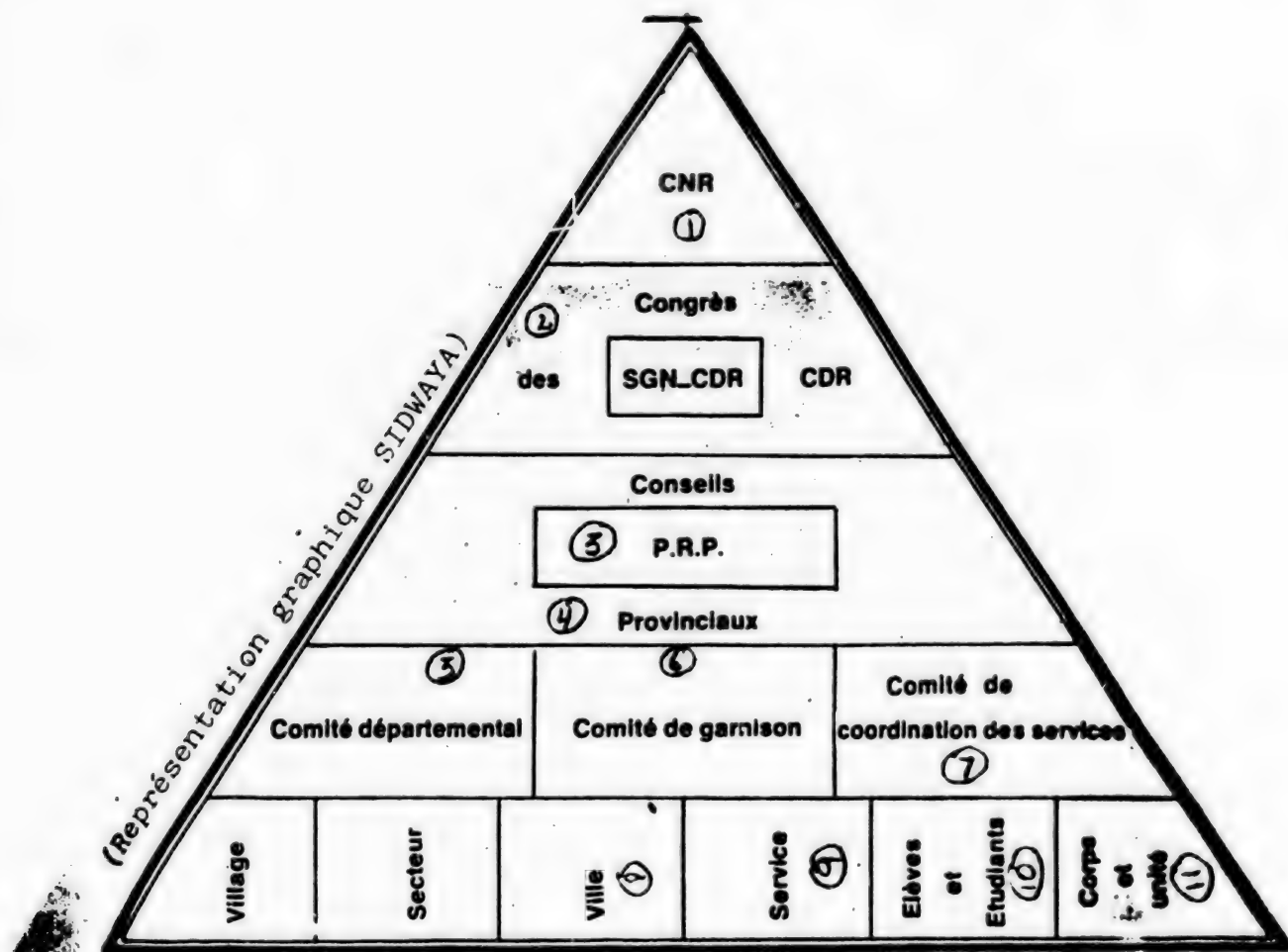
#### Article 102. Budgetary Resources

Every year, a budget will determine the share of the national budget to go to the CDR's.

The budget will also determine the portions reserved for the different levels.

#### Article 103. Special Resources

Special subsidies granted by the government; proceeds from authorized loans; and donations and legacies.



From top to bottom and vice versa, people's power based on democratic centralism depends on an effective organizational structure.

Key:

1. CNR [National Council of the Revolution]
2. Congress of the CDR's, National General Secretariat, CDR's
3. People's Revolutionary Government
4. Provincial Councils
5. Departmental committee
6. Garrison committee
7. Administrative department coordinating committee
8. City
9. (Administrative) department
10. High school and university students
11. Corps and units

Article 104. In terms of their specificity and individual needs, the CDR's may create other resources. They must first obtain the approval of the proper administrative and financial authorities.

## Chapter 2. Publications

Article 105. Members of the CDR's express themselves in an internal bulletin used as liaison, mobilization and propaganda.

The bulletin is published by the national general secretariat of the CDR's.

## Chapter 3. Miscellaneous Provisions

Article 106. An operating budget is allocated for every congress by the national general secretariat of the CDR's.

Article 107. Any political decision made by the provincial revolutionary government must be ratified by the CNR before being put into effect.

Article 108. The resignation of a member or part or all of the CDR bureau, departmental committee and provincial council must be the subject of a prompt report to the next highest body.

Article 109. In the public, parapublic administrative departments or private enterprises, no CDR member acting in keeping with the spirit and letter of these statutes and the directives of the CNR or national general secretariat of the CDR's can be the object of any sanction or other disciplinary measures without the approval of the administrative department coordinating committee to which the member belongs.

Article 110. Amendments to these statutes are the province of the CNR.

Ouagadougou, 17 May 1984  
National Revolutionary Council

11,464  
CSO: 3419/784

## FIRST CENSUS TO TAKE PLACE IN KINSHASA

### Familiarization Techniques

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 31 May 84 pp 1, 5

[Text] The National Scientific Census Commission, a part of the planning department, has just set the date of the Kinshasa city census for 1-15 July, 1984.

All members of the regional population census committee and the zone commissioners gathered at the Hotel de Ville Tuesday for a planning meeting on the subject, to set up a program to familiarize the Kinshasan population with the process.

The National Statistics Institute has published a brochure for the occasion, entitled "Participation in the Census: Your Civic Duty," in which the reasons for this scientific census, the first of its kind to be carried out in Zaire, are explained at length.

"A scientific census," the brochure reads, "is defined as a set of procedures consisting of gathering, categorizing, evaluating, analyzing and publishing economic and social data on a country's population for a (given) reference date, which, in Zaire's case, is called "census night": the latter has been set for the night of 30 June-1 July, 1984.

In actual practice, the brochure continues, the census agents will be gathering data between 1 July and 15 July, 1984. However, all information to be gathered in the households will apply to the situation in effect 30 June at midnight.

No children born 1 July after 0000 hours will be counted in the census; on the other hand, all persons living before 1 July, even though deceased after 1 July, will be counted.

Readers will recall that this census was enacted by ordinance-law No 013-80 15 September 1980. Since then, several other, more specific ordonnances have been added to it.

## Effective Scientific Prerequisites

Kinshasa ELIMA in French 31 May 84 pp 1, 5

[Editorial]

[Text] The National Scientific Census Commission has recently increased the number of its meetings in order to set up a familiarization program for the people. You will remember that this commission, which is part of the planning department, has already set the date of the Kinshasa city census for 1-15 July 1984.

As we know, all scientific census taking consists of gathering, categorizing, evaluating, analyzing and publishing economic and social data on a country's population for a (given) reference date. This is done for a very specific purpose.

Taking our country as an example, it is clear that if Zaire's socio-economic development program is to succeed, certain statistical data must be utilized in guiding state action so that all segments of the population benefit and foresight is possible. The same is true with respect to the preparation of the state budget. The public hygiene, education, employment sectors, etc. must receive a certain amount of attention before we can hope to achieve anticipated results: several criteria are involved in determining a course of action that would accomplish this.

However, it happens that many people, especially in Kinshasa, have no known residence; many others, although residing somewhere, are not registered in the lodger books, etc. Another factor to consider is that the annulment of rental contracts is done without the involvement of competent authorities and that, in many districts, people move about like birds in a pigeon-house.

Consequently, everyone responsible for this census, the first of its kind in our country, must do everything possible to explain to the people that their participation is a civic duty and that any attempt at obstruction will skew the data which would have allowed the state to develop short, medium and long-range programs.

Just as they must emphasize that, to obtain good results from the scientific census that will take place in our country next 1-15 July, all the above-mentioned prerequisites deserve consideration.

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CSO: 3419/693



## TENSION AT BORDER TALKS WITH ZAIRE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Jun 84 p 15

[Text]

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Zairean leader Mobutu Sese Seko both lost their tempers at the weekend during acrimonious talks aimed at easing tension on the Zambia-Zaire border, Zambian officials said.

The two leaders blamed each other for the tension and Pres Mobutu accused Zambians of insulting his country and leadership, they added.

One senior Zambian government official called the talks "very, very frank" but said they had paved the way for further negotiations.

Other officials said they were surprised that the talks had been so acrimonious and said Dr Kaunda was noted for his calmness even when provoked.

The talks ended with a bland co-operation agreement, and after the signing ceremony the two leaders toasted each other and cracked jokes. But the atmosphere appeared strained.

The agreement said Zambia and Zaire "reaffirm their commitment to durable peace and security and thwart all politics of aggression and of war aimed at destabilising the two states and their brotherly peoples."

Zambian officials quoted Dr Kaunda as saying the border tension was the work of criminals and anti-government dissidents aided by foreigners trying to exploit the situation.

The Zambia-Zaire border has been tense for some years and was closed for a few days earlier this month after a shoot-out between Zambian frontier guards and smugglers.

Smuggling is rife in the region as even basic commodities such as maize meal are in short supply in turbulent southern Zaire.

The problem is exacerbated by the fact that the border area, centred on the mining city of Lubumbashi, is some 2 500 km from the Zairean capital, Kinshasa, and communications are poor.

Diplomats said there was also friction between Dr Kaunda and Pres Mobutu the last time they met, at the Zairean president's home village of Gbadolite in 1982, over the agenda.

Sunday's meeting was originally planned for next month, and the fact it took place earlier than scheduled may have led to a lack of preparation and hence friction, they added. — Sapa-Reuter.

## MANICALAND PROVINCE CHAIRMAN CONDEMNS CORRUPTION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 Jul 84 p 10

[Article by Brendan Seery]

[Text]

As the jockeying for position intensifies in the run-up to Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) party congress next month, political radical Mr Edgar Tekere has slammed corruption among "hyenas" in the party.

In an interview with the Catholic Church-supported Moto magazine, Mr Tekere — chairman of the party's Manicaland province — was scathing in his attacks on corruption and warned against those who wanted to set up a one-party state to preserve their positions of power and influence.

One of the major reasons for dissatisfaction among the people was corruption in government, involving as it did members of the Zanu (PF) central committee, said Mr Tekere.

"Government has lots of thieving going on. If we get a rebuke from the people, what reply do we have, because in fact we are thieves. That's what we are. No bones about it."

Asked whether he was happy with the pace at which the country was transforming towards the ultimate goal of socialism, the volatile politician — who has termed himself a "loudmouth" — said he was not.

Arguing that "the revolution is being hijacked", Mr Tekere said many of the party leaders were trying to "get rich quick".

"It's no longer the welfare of the people we are after. It's whether I can grab sooner than yourself. Now, how do you build socialism on those grounds?"

Discipline within Zanu (PF) would have to be tightened, because there were people who thought they could do as they liked, "that the law does not not apply to them, that they can just get away with anything".

Life was being made very difficult for Prime Minister Robert Mugabe "with all those hyenas around", said Mr Tekere.

On the introduction of a one-party state, he said he believed it could not be done by merely "signing a piece of paper". It had to be done through organisational efficiency — by defeating opposition parties at the polls.

In the wake of his recent condemnation of anti-minority party violence, Mr Tekere said he believed in talking to people of all political persuasions. "Those who have been thinking of joining you are frustrated when you continually denounce them."

He also attacked the "protectionist attitude" among those who wanted to see a one-party state and so preserve their positions. "You want to force it down the throats of the people you are stealing from. No, no," said Mr Tekere.

He assured private enterprise that while the government had cut itself a path towards socialism, capitalists had to join in and feel that they belonged. Socialism had to be moulded to suit the people of Zimbabwe.

Mr Tekere, who was relieved of his Cabinet post after his involve-

ment in the killing of a white farmer in 1980, will be an important figure in the coming congress, which is only the second in the party's 20-year history.

After being sacked from the key post of secretary-general of Zanu (PF) in 1981, he began his return to the political stage last year when he was elected party chairman of the Manicaland province and was instrumental in the organisation of mass demonstrations which resulted in the ousting of the Mutare City Council earlier this year.

Mr Tekere's public avowedly left-wing stance is likely to win much support among radicals who feel the government has not gone far enough along the road to socialism in the four years since independence in 1980.

Another radical — by his public statements at least — is Transport Minister Dr Herbert Ushewokunze,

who fired the first shots in the campaign to woo radical support when he published a book containing extracts from his speeches on the establishment of a marxist-leninist state.

As the congress draws closer, radical statements are likely to come from many quarters as those in the running for party positions seek to improve their credentials. Already the congress of the party's Youth League has set the stage with a series of extreme demands including the disbanding of the judiciary and the tearing-up of the Lancaster House constitution.

However, the debate has by no means been one-sided. In a recent major article in the Herald newspaper in Harare, writer Mr Malachia Madimutsa warned against scientific socialists "imposing their will upon an intimidated and reluctant majority".

## UPCOMING ZANU (PF) CONGRESS SEEN AS TURNING POINT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Jun 84 p 10

[Article by Robin Drew]

[Text]

Evolution or revolution? The old question of how a society should change is once again top of the debating list in Zimbabwe as the days draw nearer to the crucial second congress of the ruling party to be held in August.

The congress is being seen as a turning point whose outcome will determine the pace which Zimbabwe will adopt in the avowed march towards marxism and the establishment of a socialist society. Will it be a gallop or a crawl, or could there even be a change of direction?

It will be only the second congress of Zanu (PF) to be held since the party was formed on August 8 1963 when a militant intellectual group of nationalist politicians led then by the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole broke away from Mr Joshua Nkomo's leadership. They wanted action and they got it.

Robert Mugabe took over the helm in 1976 after Mr Sithole had lost the support of the guerilla fighters, and it was under his direction that the party swept to power in the 1980 independence general election.

Its platform then was built on socialist foundations. But a pragmatic approach to the question of how to convert a capitalist system to a socialist structure has up to now been dominant, and in the process doctrinaire socialists and textbook marxists have been bitterly disillusioned.

Political commentators and analysts in Zimbabwe are now hard at work pointing to the dangers that neo-colonialism holds for revolutions that lose their way or, conversely, to the dangers that purges and great leaps forward have posed for states trying to accelerate the move to socialism.

In the run-up to the congress, a massive membership drive is under way. Extreme pressures are being applied to followers of the Zapu leader, Joshua Nkomo, and of the detained UANC president, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, to join Zanu (PF).

But at the same time as the campaign continues to make Zanu (PF) the party of the masses, one which could claim to be truly representative of the people in a one-party state, some strategists are calling for a purified party composed of genuine socialists who will spearhead the drive towards scientific socialism.

Among them is Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, whose lower profile as Transport Minister as against his former post as one of the security Ministers should not obscure the fact that he remains an ambitious politician, popular with radicals and students.

To press his case, the Durban-educated doctor has had published in book form a collection of his speeches stressing the danger of a party with mass membership losing its direction and of being transformed into an

To purge them from the party ranks would mean the minority expelling the majority, said the writer. History was full of examples of socialist revolutions ending up in fascist repression of the masses in which millions of people had had to be killed "for their own good".

The article said it would first be necessary to gain popular approval for scientific socialism, a concept which even most of today's decision-makers did not understand, before implementing it.

It said the interests of the masses could be upheld only by placing effective power in the hands of the people themselves and not in the hands of a self-selected band of men and women who called themselves socialists.

Africa, it noted, had too many self-styled socialists who denied the masses democracy, embezzled public funds, operated Swiss bank accounts and owned buses, bars and farms.

It is a sentiment which will find support among many people, black and white, in Zimbabwe. And one which the congress may find itself debating strenuously in view of the current corruption scandals which are coming before the courts.

agency for the corrupt practices of opportunists and neo-colonialists.

He paints a picture of opposing elements within the party: on the one side the forces of neo-colonialism described as "the few rich blacks and whites who team up to run the old colonial economic structure for their own benefit and for international capital..." The other, the "progressive elements advocating collective responsibility over the exploitation of national resources and the distribution of those products according to need."

But the proponents of a "vanguard" party, restricted to carefully screened and committed followers of marxism-leninism, are not having it all their own way.

Prominence was given to a recent article in the Herald newspaper outlining the dangers should Zimbabwe follow the call at the recent congress of the Youth League of the ruling party for Zanu (PF) to transform to a truly marxist-leninist party. The article made the point that in outlook and practice, the overwhelming membership of the party was made up of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, including senior leaders at all levels.

ZANU (PF) MEETING WELCOMES DEFECTORS

Harare THE HERALD in English 29 Jun 84 p 4

[Text] More than 800 people from UANC, Zanu (Sithole) and Zapu who have joined Zanu (PF) in Kadoma during the past few weeks were welcomed at a meeting held at Rimuka stadium on Wednesday.

Speaking at the occasion, Zanu (PF) Mashonaland West provincial treasurer, Cde Enos Chikowore, who is also Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, said it was now the duty of the new members to work with the Government and the ruling party to fight dissidents.

"It is necessary for you to be taught party ideology and policy. This will enable you to be in a much better position to understand and implement the Government policy of national development," Cde Chikowore said.

One of the defectors, formerly a national executive member of UANC, Cde Tsapi Tamanikwa, told the 6 000 Zanu (PF) supporters that he did not have a long history in the struggle for freedom.

"I started politics in 1971 to oppose the proposals. I am sorry that I have joined Zanu (PF) too late. It shows how slow my mind is in adapting to change," he said.

A former Zapu Midlands provincial committee member, Cde Elijah Mangosho, who said he was in detention for five years during the Smith regime, said he was glad that he had now played his cards well.

"I fought against white rule and I won. Why should I continue fighting?" he asked.

A former Zanu (Sithole) provincial organising secretary, Cde Dengweni Motsi, urged his former party members to follow him and join the ruling party.

Meanwhile, members of the UANC have closed their office in Kadoma voluntarily and surrendered all books to the Zanu (PF) district office.

CSO: 3400/2040



## BRIEFS

SEIZURE OF SHARES--Harare--The High Court in Harare has allowed the seizure of residents' foreign shares and subsequent compensation, following an action brought against the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. A Harare housewife, Mrs A.V. Walters, objected to the move and the case was heard before Mrs Justice Therese Scott earlier this week. The judge confirmed the legality of the move, opposed in terms of the constitution on the grounds of unlawful seizure of property, after affidavits were brought forward by two senior members of the Reserve Bank. The officials said the welfare of the country would be seriously impaired if the shares had not been taken over. Other options of further foreign borrowing and total cancellation of import licences would have only worsened the country's foreign exchange situations and economy, they said. The country needed about R235 million in foreign currency to pay for food imports and another R412 million just to keep currency earnings at their present level. Mrs Walters was not in court to hear the case or oppose the application.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Jul 84 p 13]

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